

Part I.

(VOL. XXVI.)

January 1941.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.),
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXVI.

No. 1.—INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

BY DR. H. N. RANDLE, LONDON.

This is the plate to which Nalini Kanta Bhattachasali drew attention in 1927 under the title "The Lost Bhowal Copper-Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal,"¹ and its reappearance fully confirms the conclusions reached by Bhattachasali on the evidence of a report (fortunately printed in the *Calcutta Gazette*, May 14, 1829) of a meeting of the Asiatic Society held on May 6, 1829.² From this it appears that Walters, Magistrate of Dacca, had obtained the plate from Golak Narayan Roy, zamindar of Bhāḍyāl and presented it to the Society. Although the 'translation' furnished by the Pandit of the Dacca City Court was, as H. H. Wilson, the Society's Secretary, pointed out, almost entirely a product of his own invention, it included a few proper names which are to be found in the present plate,—Jye Seen (Vijayasēna), Goree Pereah (*Gaurī priyā*, line 1), Mulla Seen (Vallālasēna ?), the Sybolenee river (Śaivalinī, line 23) and Beer Seen (Vīrasēna, line 6). And the Pandit rightly said that the inscription commences with an "invocation of Narayana." Wilson recognised it as an ordinary land-grant of a Sēna king, reading the date (really 27, as Bhattachasali conjectured) as 37, and remarking that the imperfect condition of the plate rendered it very problematical whether it would hereafter be more satisfactorily deciphered.³ The plate was forgotten for half a century, until Navinachandra Bhadra in his *Bhāḍyālār itihāsa* (1875) gave a brief account of the finding of it;⁴ and then again forgotten for another half century, until Bhattachasali's article appeared in 1927. In 1930 I turned out from a safe in the India Office Library a number of copper-plates, and ascertained that, with three or four possible exceptions, all had been published. The present plate was one of these exceptions. Subsequent

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III (1927), pp. 89-96. I published a preliminary notice of the reappearance of the plate in the same journal, Vol. XV (1939), pp. 300-302, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal then claimed it. It has now been restored to the possession of the Society.

² Bhattachasali points out that the Asiatic Society's proceedings were not printed before 1821, and again not between 1827 and 1829. In 1829 they were printed in the monthly "*Gleanings of Science*", which, however, may not have included the May proceedings.

³ Wilson did not allow for the subsequent discovery of other similar plates which supplement the imperfections of this one.

⁴ The relevant passage is at p. 26. I am indebted to my colleague Mr. R. H. Williams, Assistant Keeper at the India Office Library, for the following translation. "At Bhāḍyāl, amongst the Chāṇḍāls was a certain Chāshā Nāgarī who was accustomed to do accounts and had even procured some books. Some time previously he had found a copper-plate with some characters on it, opposite the afore-mentioned hermitage of Maghī. At the instance of a zamindār who formerly lived in the place, the late Mahātmā Golāk Nārāyaṇa Rāya Chaudhuri, many attempts were made to read this inscription, but no one was able to identify it. It was sent to a certain learned Englishman of Dacca; but there too no one was able to decipher it, so it was forwarded to Calcutta. Again in that city no one could read it, so at last it has been sent to England".

examination, in the light of Bhattasali's article, has convinced me that it is the **Bhowal** (Bhāḍyāl) **copper-plate**. In view of the fact that H. H. Wilson was afterwards Librarian to the East India Company, it is not difficult to suppose that it came to the East India House with him.

Walters' account of the find-spot of the plate is as follows :—“ About thirty miles north of the city of Dacca, a few miles above the site of the ancient fortress of Akdala, and a short distance from the banks of the river Luck'iah, is situated Mowza Rajabary, appertaining to pergunnah Bhowal, and included in the modern division of thannah Jamalpore. At this place, on the crest of a low hill, stands an ancient building called by the natives Moggee's Mut (*Maghīr maṭha*). It is built in the usual pyramidal form of Hindoo *mut*s, but of considerable solidity, and contains a small vaulted apartment . . . Close to the *mut* is a tank of some magnitude . . . At a distance of about two miles to the north-west of the *mut* stood the palace of Raja Chandal . . . A large tank called Dunwa Dige, and the scattered remains of old brick buildings, evince that the spot was once the habitation of man . . . About forty years ago the accompanying copper tablet was dug up by a Koonch ryot, at a short distance from the *mut*. It was conveyed to the Bhowal zemindar, Luckhenarain Rae, from whose son, Golucknarain Rae it has now been obtained”. These topographical clues should be sufficient, but they are not in fact easily intelligible to a person using modern maps and gazetteers, since Bhowal and “Mowza Rajabary” are unknown to the Gazetteers and are not to be found on modern maps, while the Jamalpur of modern maps is not 30 miles but 90 miles to the north-west (not north) of Dacca. The distance from Dacca, and proximity to the river Lakhya or Lakshya remain the only useful pointers to modern maps. The Lakhya figures on the maps¹ as the name of that stretch of river which runs roughly north and south through the Kāliganj and Rūrganj sections of the Dacca District. Older maps are helpful, and the map of the western districts of the Dacca Division contained in Volume V of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* (1875) marks in the Dacca district of the division, “Jaidebpur or Bhowal”, and “Bhowal or Nagari”. There is no doubt that the former locality is the relevant one as the names of zamindars mentioned in Mr. Walters' account show.² The plate must have been found in the extreme north of the Dacca District—since Walters located Mowza Rajabary 30 miles north of Dacca³—and must then have been brought to Jaydebpur (otherwise called Bhowal). The *thāna* Kapasia appears to be indicated as the locality of the find. An account of Bhowal and “Capassia” will be found in James Taylor's *Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* (Calcutta, 1840, pp. 110-118).

The India Office plate is a **single plate** measuring $13\frac{3}{4} \times 12$ inches, weighing 7 lbs., and having 59 lines incised upon it, 30 on the obverse and 29 on the reverse. The **seal**, projected from the top edge in the shape of an inverted shield or heart, carries the usual Sēna device, the image of Sadāśiva, 3 inches in diameter, fixed by a stout central bolt almost $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter which projects about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch on the reverse. There is a certain amount of corrosion, which affects especially the proper right side of the reverse, so that the first ten or twelve *aksharas* of many lines in the latter half of the inscription are more or less illegible. But (as Bhattasali had rightly conjectured)

¹ See Survey map-sheets of Bengal (1 mile to the inch—1919), 78. L. 12 and 79. I. 9.

² See *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers*, Dacca (1912), pp. 183 f., under Jaydebpur.

³ As to Walters' “thannah Jamalpore”, which included the “pergunnah Bhowal”, Bengal map-sheet 79. I. 9 shows a Jamalpur and a Jamalpur Chak near and on the Lakhya river in the Kāliganj part of Dacca District. Neither appears on Hunter's map; but Jumalpoor is marked as the headquarters of a *thana* on the map in *Principal heads of the history and statistics of the Dacca Division* (Calcutta, 1868). The same map shows “Joydebpur or Bhowal” some 12 miles west of Jumalpoor, and Kapasia some 30 miles north of Dacca. Ekdalla is marked about 5 miles north-east of Jumalpoor.

this plate so closely resembles the Mādhānagar plate of Lakshmanasēna¹ that the *lacuna* over a large part of it can be supplied from the Mādhānagar plate. In fact Banerji's and Majumdar's reading and translation of that part of the Mādhānagar plate which is identical with lines 1-24, 27-34, 43-45 and 49-57 of the present plate render a fresh reading and translation of these passages superfluous, except in so far as the India Office plate happens to supply *lacuna* in the Mādhānagar plate. But it seemed more convenient to transcribe and translate the whole. The engraver seems to have made no mistakes in reproducing his copy, although he was not always careful in forming his characters. The usual ambiguities (*r, v, ch* ; *ś, ṣ, g* ; *h, ṣ, g* ; *dh, p, y* ; some conjuncts ; and vowel marks) therefore present occasional difficulty, and (in combination with the effects of corrosion) make the reading of some characters, especially in unfamiliar place-names, open to doubt.

The deed was issued by the *Mahārājādhirāja Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara Lakshmanasēna-dēva* (lines 28 and 57-8). The name of the place of issue has been doubtfully read in the Mādhānagar grant as *Dhāryyagrāma*. In the present plate it is again doubtful (line 24). The grant is **dated** on the 6th day of the month Kārttika in the **year 27**, and was executed by **Śaṅkaradhara**, the *Gauḍa-Mahāsāndhivigrahika* as *dūta* (lines 57-59). It is a conveyance of land to *Pāṭhaka Padmanābhadēva-śarman*, son of Mahādēva[dēva]-śarman, grandson of Jayadēva-śarman and great-grandson of Buddhādēva[?]-śarman, of the Maudgalya *gōtra* and the Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya and Āpnavāna *pravaras*, a follower of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāma-vēda (lines 45-7). The motive of the gift is to win merit for the *Mahādēvī . . pādēvī* and the *Mahādēvī Kalyāṇadēvī* (line 48)². The land conveyed consists of two adjacent estates, of the annual value of 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas*, in the **Paundravardhana-bhukti**, one at least (possibly both) being in the **Vaṭumbī chaturaka** of the **Vāśchaśa** (?) *āṛṇṭi* of that *bhukti*. Both portions of land have as their southern boundary Jaladāṇḍi, while the village Khāvōlāpāṇḍi forms the eastern boundary of one and the western boundary of the other. That on the west is bounded on the north and west by the Suja-nadī(?). That on the east (which perhaps fell in a different *chaturaka*) is bounded on the north by Valēṅgavēnada³ (?), and on the east by Sindhāḍāvillī (?), by the southern part of Kaimajagrāvādī (?) and apparently by a water-exit. The lands conveyed comprised four part-estates (*khaṇḍa-kshētra*) named **Kavillī, Chuñchalī, Gāṇḍolī** and **Dēhipā**. Measurements are given, but they are not intelligible. There is possibly a reference to a 22 *hasta* unit of measurement. I cannot identify on the maps any of the places named ; but the find-spot may indicate that they are to be looked for in the north of the Dacca District.

The invocation and genealogy in thirteen stanzas, identical with those of the Mādhānagar inscription, occupy the first 23 lines of the plate. The remainder is in prose, with the exception of the *dharm-ānuśāsinah ślōkāḥ* (vv. 14-19)⁴ which are given precisely as in the Mādhānagar plate up to the point to which that plate is legible. The list of officials addressed corresponds in every respect with that found in other Sēna grants. But the amplification of Lakshmanasēna's titles which occupies six lines in the Mādhānagar plate is here reduced to two lines (lines 26 and 27, probably corresponding to two of the three illegible lines in the Mādhānagar plate). Lakshmanasēna is described in both plates as *Gauḍēśvara-paramēśvara-paramanārasimha-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*, but the present plate omits the description of him (given in

¹ Edited by R. D. Banerji, with facsimile, in *J. P. A. S. B.*, new series, Vol. 5 (1909), pp. 467-476 ; ~~and~~ by N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 106-115 (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1927).

² [See below p. 9 n. 3.—Ed.]

³ [See below p. 8 n. 16.—Ed.]

⁴ [and a verse introducing the *dūta* (v. 20).—Ed.]

lines 30-32 of the Mādhānagar plate) as *paramadīkshita*, *parama-brahmakshatriya*, *vikalīkṛita-Kaliṅga*¹ and *vikrama-vaśīkṛita-Kāmarūpa*. It does not seem, however, that the omission here has any significance. The references to **Kaliṅga** and **Kāmarūpa**² made in the verse *praśasti* (lines 19 and 20) were presumably regarded as a sufficient record.

The date of the inscription, if Lakshmaṇasēna's reign was c. 1170-1200 A.D.³, must be fixed at c. 1197 A. D., and therefore very near the time of his overthrow by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār. And this dating⁴ cannot be far wrong if we accept—as I think we must—the solid evidence of four passages in Vallālasēna's *Adbhuta-sāgara*⁵ (not to mention the colophon found in late MSS. of the royal author's *Dāna-sāgara*),⁶ which give Śaka dates for the commencement of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (1090=1168-69 A.D.), for the completion of the *Dāna-sāgara* (1091=1169-70 A.D.), and for the early part (not necessarily the first year) of Vallālasēna's⁷ reign (1082=1160-61 A.D.). There is

¹ As read by Majumdar. Banerji reads *-kalaṅka*.

² Here called Prāgjyōtisha.

³ The doubts which have arisen about Lakshmaṇasēna's date are due to difficulties in the interpretation of two eras (used later but never by the Sēnas themselves):

(a) the *Lakshmaṇa saṁvat*, which Kielhorn determined as commencing in 1118-19 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 1).

(b) the *atīta-rājya Lakshmaṇasēna* era used in Aśōkachalla's inscriptions.

As to (a) there was never any real reason for Kielhorn's very natural assumption that 1118-19 A.D. was the date of Lakshmaṇasēna's accession. The question whether it is to be taken as the date of his birth or as the date of Vijayasēna's accession, or as the date of some other landmark in Sēna history, is still *sub judice*. But, whatever the solution may be, it need not prevent the supposition that Lakshmaṇasēna's reign commenced c. 1170 A.D.

As to (b), the interpretation of the *atīta-rājya* era as commencing from the overthrow of Lakshmaṇasēna is in itself the obvious interpretation, and it seems to fit in with facts and probabilities. Contrary views are mentioned in the following note.

⁴ Maintained by R. C. Majumdar, 'Chronology of the Sēna Kings', in *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII (1921), pp. 7-16, and D. C. Bhattacharyya, 'Date of Lakshmaṇasēna and his predecessors', in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 145-148 and 153-158. The contrary opinion is maintained by R. D. Banerji in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX (1913), p. 277. He holds that the *Lakshmaṇa saṁvat* era (1118-19 A.D.) dates from the accession of Lakshmaṇasēna and that the Aśōkachalla inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 27) dated in years 51 and 74 of the *Lakshmaṇa atīta-rājya* era refer to the same epoch, their dates being therefore equivalent to 1169-70 A.D. and 1192-3 A.D. For a later discussion of the problem see P. C. Barat in *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 1-9. Barat gives four passages from the *Adbhuta-sāgara* which take 1090 Śaka as the initial date for various calculations; and each passage mentions that this is the year in which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was commenced. It seems quite impossible to reject this evidence. Barat's readjusted chronology is:—

Vijayasēna b. 1069 acc. 1095 died or retired	1158
Vallālasēna b. 1094 acc. 1158 died or retired	1168
Lakshmaṇasēna b. 1119 acc. 1168 died or retired	1182

The scheme is acceptable with the exception of the last date. The present plate shows that Lakshmaṇasēna ruled 27 years at least. Minhāj ibn Sirāj in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* states that "Rai Lakhmiṇya" had been on the throne for eighty years when he was attacked by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār at Nadiya. Minhāj's statement must mean that Lakshmaṇasēna was then 80 years old. This would date the attack in 1198-99 A.D.

⁵ D. C. Bhattacharyya, *loc. cit.*, gives the reference to the passages in Muralidhar Jhā's edition of the *Adbhutasāgara* (Benares, 1905), pp. 4, 125, 235 and 236.

⁶ See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI (1915), p. 347.

⁷ The length of the reign of Vijayasēna (Vallālasēna's predecessor) depends on the reading and interpretation of the date in his Barrackpur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 282). Banerji read it as 32, Bhattacharyya as 61. Bhandarkar (*List*, No. 1683; p. 236, note 1) accepts the reading 61, but suggests that the year could be referred to the Chālukya-Vikrama era, giving 1137-8 A.D. as a date for Vijayasēna. Bhandarkar's suggestion will not fit in with the date given in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (=1160-61 A.D.) for the early part of Vallālasēna's reign.

then no difficulty in accepting the tradition that it was in fact this Lakshmanasēna, and no other, whose overthrow by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār is related in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*,—an event variously dated from 1194 to 1207 A.D.¹

TEXT.²

Obverse.

- 1 Siddham³ [[*] Ōm namō Nārāyaṇāya || Yasy=āṅkē śarad-ambud-ōrasi taḍil-lēkh=ēva
Gauri priyā dēh-ārddhēna [Harim samā]śritam=a[bhū]d=yasy=āti-
- 2 chitraṁ vapuḥ | dīpt-ārka-dyuti-lōchana-traya-ruchā ghōraṁ dadhānō mukhaṁ dēvas=
tvām sa nirasta-dānava-gajaḥ pushnātu Pañchānanah || [1*]⁴ Svar-gGa-
- 3 ūgā-jala-puṇḍarikam=amṛita-prāvāra⁵-dhārā-grihaṁ śrīṅgāra-druma-pushpam=Īśvara-sikh-
ālāṅkāra-muktā-maṇiḥ | kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-jī-
- 4 vitam kumudinī-vṛind-aika-vaihāsikō⁶ jīyān=Manmatha-rājya⁷-paushtika-mahā-sānti-
dvijaś=chandramāḥ || [2*]⁸ Tribhuvana-jaya-sambhri-
- 5 t-ārtha⁹-klīptaiḥ kratubhir=avārta¹⁰-sattriṇō=marāṇām | ajanishata tad-anvayē dharitri-
valaya-viśrīṅkhala-kīrttayō narēndrāḥ || [3*]¹¹
- 6 Paurāṇibhiḥ kathābhiḥ prathita-guṇa-gaṇē Virasēnasya varṣē Ka[rpnāṭa-kshatri-]
yāṇām=ajani kula-śirō-dāma
- 7 Sāmantasēnaḥ | kṛitvā nirvīram=urvvi-talam=a[dhika]tarām¹² tripyatā nāka-nadyā-
[m nirṇpi]ktō yēna [yudhyad-ripu-rudhira]-kaṇ-ā-
- 8 kīr[ṇpi]-a-dhārāḥ kṛipāṇaḥ || [4*]¹³ Virāṇām=adhidaivatam ripu-[chamū]-mār-ā[nka-
ma]lla-vratas=tasmā[d]=vismayaniya-[śaurya-]ma[h]i[mā]
- 9 Hēmantasēnō=’bhavat | kshīrōd-ādha[r]a-vā[s]asō Vasumatī-dēvyā yadiyam yaśō
ratnasy=ēva [Su]mēru-mauli-mi-
- 10 lita[m] kshauma-śriyam pushyati || [5*]¹⁴ Ajani Vijayasēnas=tējas[ā]m rāsir=asmāt
samara-vi[sṛima]rāṇ[ām] bhūbhṛitām=ē-
- 11 ka-śēshaḥ [[*] iha jagati viśhēhē yēna varṣasya pūrvvaḥ purusha iti sudhāmśau
kēvala[m] rāja-śav(b)daḥ || [6*]¹⁵ Bhū-chakraṁ

¹ See Raverty’s translation (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Work No. 78, published in 1881), pages 554-558. Raverty (footnote, p. 559) argues for the date 1194. From the side of Sēna chronology a date near 1198 would seem to be indicated.

² Square brackets are used to indicate what is illegible but has been supplied. Round brackets indicate a necessary emendation. A single dot enclosed within square brackets indicates an illegible element in an *akshara*.

³ Represented by a symbol.

⁴ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ The Mādhānagar plate has -*prādāra*-. I find no authority for either word. [Probably we have to take *prā-vri* here in the sense of ‘to fill’. See Monier-Williams’ *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under *prā-vri*.—Ed.]

⁶ Mādhānagar -*vaihāsakō*.

⁷ Mādhānagar -*rāja*-.

⁸ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ This is the reading also in Mādhānagar.

¹⁰ Mādhānagar -*avādhita*-. [Reading in M. also seems to be -*avārta*-.—Ed.]

¹¹ Metre : *Pushpāgrā*.

¹² [Reading both here and in Mādhānagar is clearly =*api na tarāṇ tripyatā*, i.e., not being fully satisfied even after, etc.—Ed.]

¹³ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁵ Metre : *Mālinī*.

- 12 kiyad=ētad=āvritam=abhūd=yad=Vāmanasy=āṅghriṇā Nāgānān kiyad-āspadam yad¹=
urasā la[ngh]anti² gūḍhāṅghrayaḥ | ēk-āhā.³
- 13 d=yad=anūrur=añchati kiyān-mātrañ tad=apy=amva(mba)ra[m] yasy=ēt=īva yaśō hriyā
tribhuvana-vyāptyā=pi⁴ nō tripyati || [7*]⁵ Tasmād=aś[sha-]
- 14 bhuvan-ōtsava-pārvvaṇ-ēndur⁶=v**Vallālasēna**-jagatīpatir=ujjagāma | yaḥ kēvalam na
khalu sarvva-[narē]śvarāṇām=ēkaḥ sa-
- 15 magra-vidushām⁷=api chakravartti(ī)⁸ || [8*]⁹ Parāpar¹⁰-āntahpura-mauli-ratnañ¹¹
Chālukya-bhūpāla-kul-ē[ndu-lē]khā | tasya¹² [priy=ābhū-]
- 16 d=va(ba)humāna-bhūmir=Ilakshmī-Prithivyōr=api **Rāmadēvi** || [9*]¹³ Ētābhyām¹⁴
Vasudēva-Dēvakasu[tā]-dēh-āntarā[bhyā]m=iva [śrī]mal-**La**-
- 17 **kshmaṇasēna**-mūrttir=ajani kshmapāla-Nārāyaṇaḥ | chakrē¹⁵ yan-maya-janma-nissaha-
milan-nidrāndha-vach-cha[nchalāt | kri-]¹⁶
- 18 shtēn=ādhi-payōdhi kañchakam=iva [tyaktvā?] pramu[gdham] vapuḥ ||¹⁷ [10*]¹⁸ Dripyad-¹⁹
Gauḍēsvara-śrī-haṭha-haraṇa-kalā yasya kaumā-
- 19 ra-kēlīḥ **Kāliṅgēn**=āṅganābhīḥ²⁰ pratipada ~ dhadās=chakrirē²¹ yasya yūnaḥ | yēn=
āsau **Kāsīrājah** samara-
- 20 bhuvi jītō yasya nistrinśa²²-dhārā-bhīruḥ **Prāgyōtishēndras**=charaṇa-²³ja-rajasa nirm-
mamē kārmaṇāni || [11*]²⁴ Ā-kau-

¹ Mādhānagar reading doubtful, and unintelligible. Banerji reads *āsyadarpaṃ*, Majumdar *ābhyudaryam*. The India Office plate is clear and intelligible.

² The illegible *akshara* is so read by Majumdar in the Mādhānagar plate. Banerji reads *lapsanti*.

³ So read by Banerji in the Mādhānagar plate. Majumdar reads *ēkākō*, remarking that the sign for *ō* is not clear, but seems to be intended.

⁴ Majumdar reads *nañ vyāpy=ā°*, Banerji *na-vyāpy=ā°*. *Vyāptyā* is clear on this plate.

⁵ Metre *Śārdūlarikrīḍita*.

⁶ Mādhānagar *kāraṇēndur*. *Pārvvaṇēndur* is clear on this plate.

⁷ Mādhānagar *vidushām*. India Office plate clearly *vidushām*.

⁸ Mādhānagar *chavartī*.

⁹ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ The India Office plate appears to read *parāparā*, not *dharādharā*⁹ as in the Mādhānagar plate. [Obviously the intended reading is *dharādhar-āntahpura*.—Ed.]

¹¹ Mādhānagar *ratna*. The India Office plate shows clearly the *anusvāra* which the metre demands.

¹² *Tasya* is clear. Majumdar's reading *tasyā* must be mistaken.

¹³ Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ Illegible in the Mādhānagar plate.

¹⁵ These two syllables, illegible in the Mādhānagar plate, are fairly clear here. But a mark attached to *ya* suggests *dya*. If it is not accidental, *rakshēd* must be read.

¹⁶ Mādhānagar reads *milad-vimbānuvachchañchalāt-kri*. The India Office plate clearly has *milan=ni*. What follows is only partly legible, and remains unintelligible. [Reading seems to be *ānuva(ba)ndha-chchhalāt*.—Ed.]

¹⁷ The India Office plate is more legible than the Mādhānagar plate, but I have failed to obtain an intelligible reading.

¹⁸ Metre : *Śārdūlarikrīḍita*.

¹⁹ These two *aksharas*, apparently illegible in the Mādhānagar plate, are quite clear here. Majumdar reads *āsīd*.

²⁰ So also the Mādhānagar plate. The remainder of this *pāda* is illegible in the Mādhānagar plate, except the last three *aksharas*, read as *-vē yasya pūrvvāḥ*. The India Office plate, but for one *akshara*, is legible. [See next note.—Ed.] The last word cannot be *pūrvvāḥ*.

²¹ [Reading seems to be *pratipadam=va(pa)dās=chakrirē*. The idea is that the king of **Kāliṅga** accompanied by his wives often presented gifts to him (even) when the latter was young.—Ed.]

²² Illegible in the Mādhānagar plate.

²³ Illegible in the Mādhānagar plate.

²⁴ Metre *Sragdharā* (not *Śārdūlarikrīḍita*, as inadvertently stated by Majumdar).

Obverse.

[illegible]

Reverse.

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- 21 mārāṇ samara-jayinā kurvvat=ōrvvīm=avīrām=ētēn=āmi katham=iva diśām=ī[ś]itārō
vimuktāḥ¹ | [a]ṣṭa[.]gaṅgē² va-
- 22 pushi kalayā tasya tē=shṭau pravishṭāḥ pra[dhva]stēti³ prabhavati na hi kshattriyā-
nām kripāṇaḥ⁴ || [12*]⁵ Yat=ārāma-druma-dala-[ru-]
- 23 chā **Śaivaliny**=arddha-śrīṅgāḥ [pra]syandy-ambhō-janapada⁶-guṇair=yēshu [r]ōmānchitā
bhūḥ | prāṇān muñchanty-avanipatayō
- 24 nō cha naryān-anēna grāmās=tē tē sapadi dadirē kōṭīsaḥ sāsānāni⁷ || [13*]⁸
Tē khalu **grāma**⁹. parisara-sa-
- 25 māvā[sit]a-¹⁰srīma[j-jaya-skandh]āvārā[t] paramēśvara-parama-Vai[shṇ]ava-parama-
bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā[jādhirā]ja-śrī-**Vallā**-
- 26 **lasēna**-dēva-pādāmudhyā[ta-] vi . . . ra-jagad-dhanya-Ma[ni]dara-pramathita-sōma¹¹-sama-
rasāgara-samās-āditya-Śrī[.] Lakshm=iva¹² **Sē**-
- 27 **na**-kula-kuśēsha(su)ya-vikāsa-vāsarakara¹³-**Gauḍēśvara**-paramēśvara-parama - Nārasīṅha-
parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā-
- 28 jādhirāja-śrīma**Lakshmaṇasēna**-dēva-pādā vijayinaḥ | samupagat-āsēsha-rāja-rājanyaka-
rājñī-rāṇaka-rā-
- 29 japutra-rājāmātya-mahāpurōhita-mahādharma-mādhyaksha-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahāsēnā-
pati-mahāmudrādhi[kṛi]-
- 30 t-āntaraṅga - v(b)ṛihaduparika - mahākshapaṭalika - mahāpratīhāra - mahābhō[gika - mahā-]
pīlupati-mahāgaṇastha-dauḥ-

¹ These two *pādas*, illegible in the Mādhānagar plate, are fortunately clear.

² First *akshara* illegible. The omitted character in the third *akshara* looks legible but I have failed to identify it. The metre requires a conjunct consonant. [Possibly *ashṭa-prāṅgē* and used as qualifying *vapushī*.—Ed.]

³ [Reading may be *prahvībhūtē*.—Ed.]

⁴ In these two *pādas* again the India Office plate supplies the *lacunæ* in the Mādhānagar plate.

⁵ Metre *Mandākrāntā*.

⁶ [I would read *Śaivaliny-ār[d]dhra[gaṅgā] sasya-ryūjā[j*]-janapada*.—Ed.]

⁷ The India Office plate supplies with certainty the last four syllables of the first *pāda*, and (less certainly) the whole of the second *pāda*. It supplies the second half of the third *pāda* and the whole of the fourth *pāda*, illegible in the Mādhānagar plate. *Naryān* however remains unintelligible. [Reading is *naryān=anēna*, *naryān* meaning the two objects of human desire, *viz.*, heaven and earth.—Ed.]

⁸ Metre : *Mandākrāntā*.

⁹ Majumdar reads *nirgatē khalu Dhāryyagrāma*, etc. It seems clear that the India Office plate follows the Mādhānagar plate in this line. But *nī* is followed by a punctuation mark, apparently read as *°rga*° by Majumdar. The *akshara* following the punctuation mark can only be read, with Majumdar, as *tē*. It is the demonstrative pronoun anticipating *Lakshmaṇasēnadēva-pādāḥ* in line 28. The place-name may be the same as in the Mādhānagar plate. As it stands I should read *Phupphagrāma*. But corrosion produces such strange effects that what now looks like *Phu* might once have been *Dhā*. Superscript *r* easily disappears, so that the second *akshara* might be *-ryga*.

¹⁰ From this point up to the word *Gauḍēśvara* in line 27 the Mādhānagar version, so far as legible, differs widely from the present inscription. These two and a half lines (25-27) of the India Office plate replace no less than seven lines (25-32) in the Mādhānagar plate (three of which are altogether illegible). The lines omitted in the India Office plate include references to *Lakshmaṇasēna* as having "crippled" *Kaliṅga* and subdued *Kāmā-rūpa*.

¹¹ [To me the reading appears to be *°dhyātō nija-bhūja*. *Mandara-pramathit-āsīma*.—Ed.]

¹² [Correct reading is *samāsādita-Gauḍa-Lakshmīka*.—Ed.]

¹³ For the preceding phrase compare the Edilpur grant of *Kēśavasēna*, line 41, *Sēna-kula-kamala-vikāsa-bhāskara*. From the word *Gauḍēśvara* up to the middle of line 34 the present inscription is identical with the corresponding part (line 33-39) of the Mādhānagar plate.

Reverse.

- 31 sādhi[ka]-chaurō[ddha]raṇika-nau-va(ba)la-hasty-aśva-gō-mahish-āj- āvik - ādi - vyāpṛitaka-gaulmika-daṇḍapāśi-
- 32 ka-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapaty-ādīn¹ anyāms=cha sakala-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō=²dhyaksha-prachār-ōktān=ih=ākṛitti-
- 33 tān chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-jātiyān janapadān kshētrakarān vrā(brā)hmaṇān vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān yath-ārham mānayanti vō(bō)dha-
- 34 [yanti] samādisanti cha matam=astu bhavatām yathā śrī-Paṇḍravarddhana-bhukty-antaḥpāti-Vāśchaś-āvṛitty³-antarggata-Vaṭumvī⁴-chatu-
- 35 rakē pūrvvē Khāvōlāpāṇḍi⁵ sīmā | dakṣiṇē Jaladāṇḍi⁶[h] sīmā | paśchimē Sujanadī⁷ sīmā | uttarē=pi tathā
- 36 [sīmā | ittha]ñ=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchinnāḥ Kavillī-Chuñchali-Gāṇḍōli-Dēhipā⁸ -khaṇḍa-kshētra-samēta-Vāpa⁹-
- 37chaturakē pūrvvē¹⁰ [Tr]aḍapāsalamvanni¹⁰-bhū-sūtra-dvayaṁ Simhadāvillī tathā Kaimajagrāvāḍi¹¹ paśchima-kā-
- 38 ṇḍas=tathā.....jiprastariya¹²-chatuḥ-sūtra¹³-bhūs=taj-jala-nirggama-jāśrah¹⁴ sīmā dakṣiṇē Jaladāṇḍi sīmā
- 39 paśchimē Khāvōlāpāṇḍi¹⁵ sīmā | uttarē Valēṅgavēnadaḥ¹⁶ sīmā | itthañ=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchinnō mā-
- 40makēśa-dēva-dēśaḥ | ittham=ētāv=upari-likṛita-bhū-sīm-āvachchinnau [|]¹⁷ dvāvinśati-hastē-

¹ The initial vowel follows. There is a tendency to separate the different categories in this list by not applying *sandhi*, and by using a punctuation mark (a dot or short upright line).

² *Vāśchaśa* is an improbable name. The second *akṣhara* remains doubtful. And, but for the fact that *āvṛitti* is always read in Sēna plates as the name of an administrative division of land I should have read the last three *akṣhara* as ³*śi-vṛitty*.

³ *Vaṭumvī*(*mbī*) seems clear.

⁴ This is clear. The same name appears to occur in line 39, in describing the western boundary of the second lot of land granted.

⁵ This is clear. The name recurs in line 38, in describing the southern boundary of the second lot of land granted.

⁶ Reading doubtful. The character read *d* could be *h* or *q*.

⁷ I take these to be the names of four separate *khaṇḍa-kshētras*, and I find confirmation for this assumption in the phrase *khaṇḍa-kshētra-chatuṣṭaya* in line 42. The names are quite legible. [There appears to be a *daṇḍa* after each name.—Ed.]

⁸ Perhaps *Rīpa*.

⁹ There is no trace of the doubling of *v*.

¹⁰ This appears to give the name of a field. I am indebted to the Editor for the reading *bhū-sūtra-dvayaṁ Simhadāvillī*.

¹¹ [To me the reading appears to be *Chēmadagrāvāḍi*.—Ed.]

¹² This seems to conceal a place-name.

¹³ The partly obliterated mark below the character *s* is probably *ū*. But the meaning of *sūtra* remains obscure in such a compound.

¹⁴ *jāśrah* conveys no meaning to me, but I cannot read it in any other way. [To me the reading appears to be *jāśrah* for Skt. *yāśrah*.—Ed.]

¹⁵ What remains legible suggests this reading. The same village has been mentioned above, line 35.

¹⁶ [Reading seems to be *Vānahāra-nadaḥ* which may be identical with the river *Bānār*, N. N. E. of Jaydevpur.—Ed.]

¹⁷ The mark which I have taken as a punctuation sign is an unusual angular mark.

- 41 [na parimitaḥ]¹.....va-bhū-samēta-kākinō dvāvimśati-yashty-
adhika-pādik-ōpēta-drōṇik-ānvita-
- 42daśa.....kau samvatsarēṇa kapardaka-purāṇa-śata-
chatusṭṭay-ōtpattikau khaṇḍa-kshētra-chatusṭṭaya-sa-
- 43 [mē]ta-.....kiyad=ēka-
bhū-bhāgau sa-jhāṭa-viṭapau sa-jala-sthalau sa-gar[tt-ōsha-
- 44 rau sa-guvāka-nārikēlau sahya-daś-āpa[rādhau parihṛita-sarvva-pīdāv=a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-
pravēśāv=a-kiñchi[t-pra-]
- 45 [grāhyau tṛiṇa-yūti-gō]chara[-paryantau Buddha]dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya Jaya-
dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Maudgalya-sa-gōtrāya Aurvva-Chyavana-Bhārggava-Jāma-
dagny-Āpnavāna-pravarāya² Sāma-vēda-Kauthuma-
- 47 śā[khā]-charaṇ-ā[nudhyāyi]nē **Pāṭhaka-śrī-Padmanābhādēvaśarmmaṇē** pu[nyē=ha]ni
vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakam bhagava-
- 48 [ntam śriman-Nā]rāyaṇa-bha[ṭṭāra]kam=uddīśya mahādēvī-.....**pādēvī**³-mahādēvī-
Kalyāṇadēvy[ō]ḥ⁴ [punya-prā]ṭti-ni-
- 49 [mittam]......samastēna
śata-chatusṭṭay-ōtpattikām bhūmim=utsriṇy=ā-ṇchandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam yāva-
- 50 [d=bhūmi-chehbidra-]nyāyēna tāmra-śāsanikri[tya pra]dattāv=asmābhiḥ | tad=bhavadbhiḥ
sarvvair=ēv=ānumantavyam | bhāvi-
- 51 [bhīr=api nripa]tibhir=apaharaṇē naraka-pāta-bhayāt pālanē dharmma-gauravāt śāsanam=
idam pālanīyam [] bhava-
- 52 nti ch=ātra dharm-ā[nuśāmsinaḥ] ślōkāḥ | Bhūmim yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim
prayachchhati | u[bhau tau] punya-ka[rmma]ṇau ni-
- 53 yataṁ svarga-gāminau || [14*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ |
yasya yasya ya[dā bhūmis=] ta[sya tasya] tadā

¹ If -na is present it is a subsequent addition above the line; *parimitaḥ* is vaguely outlined on the damaged surface, I think. But the reading is conjectural.

² I owe the reading of the fifth *pravara*-name to the Editor. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali had suggested that either *Vātsya* or *Sāvarnna* is required as the *gōtra*, in view of the first four *pravaras*. At that time the name of the fifth *pravara* had not been read.

³ In this name the first *akshara* is so ambiguous that I do not venture to read it. It must give the name of one of the two queens. The first *akshara* resembles *Śrī*; but this gives no intelligible name. It is possible that an initial vowel has combined by *sandhi* with the last vowel in *mahādēvī*. [The correct reading is *Śrī(Śrī)gādēvī*, a name not unfamiliar in inscriptions. A Telugu inscription in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma, dated Śaka 1050, mentions Śrīyādēvī, the *mahādēvī* of Anantavarman(-Chōḍagaṅga), (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1195). Another Telugu record in the temple of Kēśavasvāmin, on a hill near Konidena, dated Śaka 1075 gives Śrīyā-mahādēvī as the name of the mother of the Telugu Chōḍa chief, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamallādēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 634).—Ed.]

⁴ I have no doubt that two queens are meant. The termination, as the plate now stands, looks like the singular (*Kalyāṇadēvyāḥ*); but there is room for the additional stroke which would turn this into *-dēvyōḥ*. Unfortunately, the names found in other plates for Lakshmanasēna's consorts are diversely read. In the Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna (line 25) Banerji reads *Taṭṭanadēvī*, Majumdar *Tyashanadēvī*. In the Edilpur plate of Kēśavasēna (line 23) Majumdar read the name of Lakshmanasēna's other consort as *Chāndrādēvī*, but in the Madanapādā plate of Viśvarūpasēna (line 21) he reads it as *Tādādēvī*, while Vasu reads *Tāndrādēvī*. [I would read the name of the queen in l. 25 of the Sāhitya Parishad plate as *śrīmaty=Alhanadēvī*. The name of the queen in l. 21 of the Madanapādā plate is certainly *Tādādēvī* as read by Majumdar. If the name read as *Chāndrādēvī* in the Edilpur plate of Kēśavasēna l. 23, is identical with *Tādādēvī*, which appears possible, the Sēna records so far known have furnished the names of at least four queens of Lakshmanasēna, viz., *Śrīyādēvī*, *Kalyāṇadēvī*, *Alhanadēvī* and *Tādādēvī*. See the following note.—Ed.]

- 54 phalaṁ(lam) || [15*] [Āsphō]ṭayanti pitarō valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmidō=smat-
kulē jātaḥ sa nas=trā[tā bha]vishyati || [16*] Sha-
55 [shṭim] varsha-sa[hasrāṇi sva]rggē tishṭhati bhūmidah | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha
[tā]ny=ēva narak[ē vasēt] || [17*] Svadattām paradattām vā [yō]
56 [ha]rēta vasundharām(rām) | [sa] vishṭhāyām krimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē ||
[18*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(bu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śrīvam=anuchintya
57 [manushya-jī]vitañ=cha | [śaka]lam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi puruṣaḥ
para-kīrtayō vilōpyāḥ || [19*] **Ari-rāja-Mada-**
58 **na-Śaṅkara**=narapatir=akarōn=mantri-śata-mukhyaṁ(khyaṁ) || [*] **Śaṅkaradharam**=iḥa
dūtām Gauda-mahāsāndhivigrahikām(kam) || [20*]¹
59 Śrī ni | mahā[-sā]ṁ ni | śrīma[d-rā]ja ni[?] | śrī-**Madana-Śaṅkara** ni. | śrīmat sāṅga-
samaya-ni.² | **sam. 27 kā. dinē 6.**

TRANSLATION.

Success. Ōm. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 1) May the god Pañchānana give you prosperity, in whose embrace his beloved Gaurī is like the lightning flash on the bosom of an autumn cloud, whose resplendent form rests with half his body in Hari : who makes his countenance terrible with three eyes shining like the burning sun ; who as a lion (*pañchānana*) has vanquished the elephants who are the *dānavas*.³

(V. 2) Victory to the Moon, the lotus in the stream of the heavenly Ganges, the fountain of ambrosia-showers, the flower on the tree of love, the pearl adorning the head of the Lord ;—(*the Moon*) whose being is from the milky sea and who alone can make the lotus-clusters smile, the priest in the great rite which augments the kingdom of Love.

(V. 3) In his (*i.e.*, the Moon's) line were born princes who offered *sattras* to the Immortals incessantly, the sacrifices being performed with the wealth gathered during their conquest of the three worlds ; princes whose fame was not confined within the girdle of the globe.

(V. 4) In **Virasēna's** family, the tale of whose virtues is told in Paurāṇic histories, **Sāman-tasēna** was born, a garland on the brow of the race of **Karṇāṭa kshatriyas** :—who, being fully satisfied after⁴ leaving the face of the earth without a warrior, cleansed in the heavenly stream his sword, its edge dripping with the blood of opposing foemen.

(V. 5) From him was **Hēmantasēna**, the presiding deity of warriors, whose sworn purpose was the destruction⁵ of the armies of his enemies, whose majesty and might were objects of wonder ; whose fame, like a jewel in the crown of the Sumēru mountain, bears the beauty of the silken (*upper*) garment of the goddess of Earth, the lower being the milky ocean.

¹ [Metre : *Āryā* : the second *pāda* is short by one syllabic instant.—Ed.]

² The reading and interpretation of *sāṅga-samaya-ni* are doubtful. See the footnote to this line in the translation.

³ I am indebted to the Editor for the reading of the *aksharas* °s=*tvām sa*, and for the now intelligible translation of this clause.

⁴ [See above, p. 5 n. 12.—Ed.]

⁵ *Mārāṅkamalla* is, as Majumdar points out, parallel to *Mārāṅkavira* in the Dēōpāra inscription (line 10, there also applied to Hēmantasēna), and occurs in a verse ascribed in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* to Umāpatidhara, the poet who composed the Dēōpāra inscription (*J. P. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 161, verse 5, referred to by Majumdar, p. 193). Since verses 4 and 6 of the Mādhāinagar (and India Office) plate are parallel to verses 5 and 16 of the Dēōpāra inscription it has been suggested that Umāpatidhara is the author also of this *prasaṁsiti*. See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. V (1909), p. 469 (referred to by Majumdar, p. 107).

(V. 6) From him was born **Vijayasēna**, a mass of splendour, the only remainder of princes moving about in battles, by whom the name "King" was suffered in this world only in the case of the Moon, as being the progenitor ancestor of his house.

(V. 7) His fame is not satisfied with even the pervasion of the three worlds, (*thinking*) as it were with shame: "How extensive could the circuit of the earth be which was covered by the foot of the Dwarf! How large the abode of the Nāgas (*i.e.*, the nether world) which the serpents traverse on their bellies! How spacious the sky which the thighless one (*i.e.*, Aruṇa) crosses in a single day!"

(V. 8) From him issued **Vallālasēna**, lord of the earth, full moon of the whole world's rejoicing, who was sole suzerain not indeed of all princes alone but also of all learned men.

(V. 9) **Rāmadēvī**, the crest-jewel of far and near harems,¹ the crescent moon of the family of the **Chālukya** princes, who was an object of deep veneration even for Lakshmi and Prithivī, was his consort.²

(V. 10) From these two, who were as Vasudēva and Dēvakī themselves re-incarnated, was born Nārāyaṇa himself in the form of the illustrious King **Lakshmanasēna**,.....³

(V. 11) Whose sport in youth was the art of taking away by violence the fortune of the proud King of **Gauḍa**; whose...when a young man were made by the prince of **Kaliṅga** by means of women;⁴ by whom that king of **Kāśī** was defeated on the field of battle; fearing the edge of whose sword the lord of **Prāgyōtisha** performed magic rites with the dust from his feet.⁵

(V. 12) How has he, who has from his very boyhood been victorious in battles rendering the earth empty of warriors, spared the guardians of the regions? (*Because*) these eight have entered his body consisting of eight principal parts, each according to his share (*kalā*)⁶ and the sword of *kshatriyas* does not act when (*an enemy has*) already fallen (or has sought refuge).⁷

(V. 13) Where, with the beauty of the foliage of the garden trees, [are] the half-curves of the **Saivalinī**, in which the earth is thrilled with the beauties of the denizens of the moving water. Princes lose their lives, but not thereby (*the merit of their gifts*).⁸ These villages [and] royal charters in tens of millions at one time have been given.⁹

¹ [See above, p. 6 n. 10.—Ed.]

² [The idea apparently is that the king had several consorts among whom were counted also Lakshmi (*i.e.*, sovereignty) and Prithivī (*i.e.*, earth, territory). The last two were held in high esteem, but Rāmadēvī was respected even by them. With this description of Vallālasēna we may compare that of Dilipa in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, I, 32: "*Kalatravantam-ātmanam-avarōdhē mahaty-āpi | tayā mēnē manasvinyā Lakshmyā cha vasudhādhipā ||*", to which Mallinātha's comments are: "*tayā Sudakṣiṇyā, Lakshmyā cha.....Vasudhādhipa ity-anēna Vasudhayā ch-ēti gamyatē.*"—Ed.]

³ The reading of the rest of verse 10 is too uncertain to admit of translation.

⁴ The reference to Kāliṅga remains unintelligible, in the absence of a complete reading. I conjecture the meaning to be that tribute on *pratipad* days in the shape of a gift of women was paid by the ruler of Kāliṅga to Lakshmanasēna, when the latter was a young man. [There is no evidence of Lakshmanasēna's sporting with or receiving gifts of Kāliṅga ladies. See above, p. 6 n. 21.—Ed.]

⁵ The reference is obscure. [Kāmaripa is traditionally famous for sorcery.—Ed.]

⁶ [Cf. *aṣṭānām dik-pālānām mātṛābhīr-nirmmitō nṛipaḥ*. Also *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 4-7.—Ed.]

⁷ The translation follows the Editor's reading. See above p. 7, nn. 2, 3.—Ed.

⁸ *Naryān* is clear, but not intelligible. [Read *naryāv*. See above p. 7, n. 7.—Ed.]

⁹ The construction is at least awkward, and leads me to suspect that I have misread something. [According to my reading the translation would be: where the river is like the heavenly Ganges (*i.e.*, **Mandākinī**) on account of the beauty of the gardens and foliage (*found along its banks*); where the earth, on account of the merits of the country (*janapada*), is so thrilled that her hair stands on end in the guise of the (*standing*) crops; (*where*) the rulers would fain give up their lives but not the two supreme objects of desire—heaven and earth—and therefore divers villages were given (*by them*) in great numbers by means of grants.—Ed.]

(Ll. 24-28) His Majesty, from his illustrious camp of victory pitched in the environs of.¹ **-grāma**, meditating on the feet of the mighty prince, the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, His most excellent Majesty the King of Kings **Vallālasēna-dēva** :—His most excellent Majesty the King of Kings the victorious **Lakshmaṇasēna-dēva**, the Moon churned up by Mount Mandara out of the wealth of the . . . world, the Āditya of battles, the Śrī of the ocean (of knowledge),² the Lakshmī of word-composition, the sun that opens the lotus of the Sēna family, the lord of Gauḍa, the mighty prince, the devout worshipper of Narasiṃha :—

(Ll. 28-32) to the assembled³ chiefs, chieftains, and queens, the *Rānakas*, the nobles, the royal councillors, the Chief Priest, the Minister for Justice, the Minister for Peace and War, the Commander-in-Chief, the Keeper of the Seal, the *Antaraṅga*, the *Bṛihaduparika*, the Superintendent of Accounts, the Chamberlain, the *Mahābhōgika*, the *Mahāpīlupati*, the *Mahāgaṇastha*, the *Daussādhikas*, the Superintendents of Police, those in charge of ships, troops, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and the like, overseers of forests, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanūyakas*, officers in charge of districts (*viśhayapati*), etc., and all other servants of His Majesty named in the list of officials⁴ and not here mentioned—

(L. 33) to persons belonging to the Chāṭṭa and Bhaṭṭa class, to the people in general, cultivators, Brāhmaṇas, and the chief Brāhmaṇas⁵—

(Ll. 34-37) (*His Majesty as aforesaid*) sends greeting as is fit and notification and command :—Be it noted by you that (*two parcels of land, as follows*) :—(1) in the *chaturaka* **Vaṭumbī** which forms part of the *āvrīṭti* **Vāśchasa** (?) situated in the *bhukti* **Paṇḍravarddhana**, land bounded on the east by **Khāvōlāpāṇḍi**, on the south by **Jaladāṇḍi**, on the west and likewise the north by **Sujanadī**(?)—[the land] thus defined by four boundaries, together with the part-lands **Kavillī**, **Chuñchalī**, **Gāṇḍōlī** and **Dēhipā** ;

¹ See above, p. 7, n. 9.

² *Sāgara* may have a double reference to (1) the sea, from which Śrī emerged at the churning of the ocean, (2) the four *sāgaras* or encyclopedias composed by Vallālasēna (*Adbhuta*°, *Dāna*°, *Pratishṭhā*° and *Āchāra-sāgara*), —although Lakshmaṇasēna was part-author of the first only. [According to my reading this portion should be translated as : who has obtained the sovereignty of Gauḍa by churning the boundless ocean of battles with the Mandara (*mountain*) in the shape of his own arm. . . . See p. 7, notes 11, 12.—Ed.]

³ It is not to be supposed that any of the officials and others to whom the rescript is addressed were in fact assembled. The list appears to cover four categories—

(a) the court or personal entourage of the King,
(b) the great Ministers of State, usually marked by the prefix *Mahā*-,
(c) officials not of the highest rank, probably intended to be specified in the plural (from *daussādhika* to *viśhayapati*),
(d) petty officials and the general public.

⁴ *Ādhyakṣa-prachāra* is the title of the chapter on officials in the *Kauṭīliya Artha-śāstra*. There was no doubt a Sēna Civil List defining the various officers and their duties.

⁵ Majumdar (*op. cit.* pp. 182-188) has an appendix on terms denoting official titles in Sēna inscriptions. He relies in the main on J. P. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State : Part 1, Inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period* (*Arch. Survey, New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI, 1911) : referring also to the *Mahāvryutpatti* (Osoma de Kōrōs' ed. and transl., *A. S. B. Memoirs*, Vol. IV. No. 1, 1910, pp. 29-35) and other sources. The following among his references may be mentioned in particular. . . *Antaraṅga*, court-physician (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43) ; *Uparikā* (*Bṛihaduparika*), viceroy (Vogel p. 123 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 113 ff., the Damodarpur plates) ; *Gaulmika* (Vogel p. 127 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253 ; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 52 ; *Mahāvryutpatti*, p. 33) ; *Chāṭṭa*, head of a *parganā* (Vogel pp. 130-132 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, 296, 299 ; *ibid.*, XI, 19, 296, 299) ; *Chaurōddharanika* (Vogel p. 129) ; *Daṇḍapāśika* 'one who holds the rod and rope' (Vogel, p. 129) ; *Bhaṭṭa* (Vogel p. 132 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 18 ; and reference to *Mahāvryutpatti*, p. 31) ; *Mahākṣhapāṭalika* (Vogel p. 133) ; *Mahāpīlupati* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, 43 ; *Mahāvryutpatti*, p. 30) ; *Mahāpratihāra* (Vogel p. 135 ; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 190) ; *Mahābhōgika* or *Mahābhōgapati* (Vogel p. 130 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, note 6).

(Ll. 37-40) (2) in the *chaturaka*....., land bounded on the east by two *sūtras* of land and **Simhaḍāvillī** situate in....., also by the southern portion of **Kaimajagrā-vāḍi**,¹ also by the water-exit situate in.....;

on the south by **Jaladāṇḍi**; on the west by **Khāvōlāpāṇḍi**; on the north by **Valēṅgavēnada**,² the land thus defined by four boundaries [and being] the demesne of.....**makōśa-dēva**,

(Ll. 40-43) (*these two parcels of land*) thus measured and defined each by its own boundaries above mentioned,.....comprising a *drōṇika* and one quarter plus 22 *yashṭis*by the 22 cubit (*measure*)..... producing 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas* annually, with the four part-fields..... being two parts of one estate, with undergrowth and saplings, water and dry ground, broken ground and barren ground, betel and cocoanut trees: saving the ten sins [?], exempt from all annoyances, without right of entry by Chātṭas and Bhaṭṭas, free from all dues, with grass, *yūti*, pasture and boundaries:—

To the *Pāṭhaka* **Padmanābhādēva-śarman**, follower of a school of the **Kauthuma** branch of the *Sāma-vēda*, of the *Maudgalya gōtra* and the *Aurva Chyavana Bhārgava Jāmadagnya* and *Āpnavāna pravara*s, son of *Mahādēvadēva-śarman*, grandson of *Jayadēva-śarman* and great-grandson of *Buddhadēva(?)śarman*:—

(Ll. 48-50) on a holy day, in due form, with the water-rite, in the name of the holy one, the glorious lord *Nārāyaṇa*, to win merit for the *Mahādēvi*... **pādēvi** and the *Mahādēvi* **Kalyāṇa-dēvi**³:—

We renounce for so long as the Moon and Sun and Earth endure.....this land producing in all 400 (*kapardaka-purāṇas*), and by the *bhūmicchhidra* rule, having turned this into a title-deed on copper We hereby give it.

(Ll. 50-51) This is to be observed by you all without exception. By princes to come also this charter is to be maintained, from the fear of being cast into Hell if they should take away (*the land granted*) and from the high esteem of virtuous conduct if they maintain it. And in this connection there are verses enjoining (*such*) virtuous conduct: [Here follow six of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 57-58) The King, **Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara**⁴, has made the *Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Śaṅkaradhara**, chief of a hundred councillors, his agent.

(L. 59) His Majesty's⁵ secretary.⁶ The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*'s⁷ secretary. The secretary for the royal documents⁸ of His Majesty the King the illustrious **Madana-Śaṅkara**⁹, In the year 27 on day 6 of **Kārttika**.

¹ [*Chēmaḍagrāvaṭi*? See above p. 8 n. 11.—Ed.]

² [See above, p. 8 n. 16.—Ed.]

³ [See above, p. 9 n. 3 and n. 4.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara* was the special title assumed by Lakshmanasēna. See, for example, the Edilpur copper-plate of Kēśavasēna, line 43.

⁵ *Śrī* I take to be a symbol for royalty (the King) here.

⁶ The abbreviation *nī* appears to correspond to the final syllable in *karanani* found in the last line of other Sēna plates, and to have some such meaning as is conveyed in the translation 'secretary'. [This abbreviation probably stands for *nibaddham*.—Ed.]

⁷ Abbreviated here, *Mahāsām*.

⁸ *Sāṅga-samaya nī* is obscure. I take it to mean "secretary for completed contracts", registration officer. (I was inclined to read *sāṅga-sa[m.] saptavi*, taking *saptavi* as a contraction for *saptavimśē*, and understanding *sāṅga-samvatsarē* to mean "in the completed year". But this is hardly justified.) [To me the reading appears to be *Sāhasamaya nī*.—Ed.]

⁹ The reading *śrīmad=rāja nī* is doubtful; and *nī* following *Madana-Śaṅkara* is again doubtful. The royal secretary cannot be thrice mentioned (*Śrī nī*: *śrīmad=rāja nī* | *Śrī-Madana-Śaṅkara nī*). The translation given does not correspond with these doubtful readings, but may possibly convey the intended meaning.

No. 2.—RAJAHMUNDY MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TELUGU CHODA ANNADÉVA.

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These plates were originally discovered at **Annāvaram** near Tuni in the East Godavari District; and they are at present deposited in the Municipal Museum at Rajahmundry¹. The following description of the condition of the plates is given in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, Madras, for 1911-12 :

“ There are at present only four plates, the first of which is written on the inner side while the rest are written on both sides. The plates are not held together by a ring, and it is perhaps for this reason that we find some of them missing from the set. They roughly measure 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", and bear a circular hole on the left margin which was evidently meant to receive the ring. From the numbering of the plates found on their inner faces, not far from the ring hole, it is gathered that the missing plates must be the 2nd, 5th, 6th and one or more after the 7th.”²

The plates are engraved in the **Telugu** characters of the early 15th century, resembling the alphabet of the other inscriptions particularly of the Redḍi kings of the period, and call for no special remarks. As the letters are deeply cut the inscription offers no difficulty in decipherment.

Orthography : The cerebral *ḷa* is frequently used in the place of the dental *la*, e.g. *nikhīḷa* (I, l. 1), *akhīḷa* (l. 3), *kamāḷa* (l. 3); *khēḷanti* (IV, l. 38), *taḷēshu* (l. 37), etc. *Ṣa* is occasionally substituted for *sa* as in *Śiṅga* (III, l. 10), *Śiṅgaya* (VII, l. 8), etc. The *anusvāra* is invariably employed for the nasal; occasionally the letter following the *anusvāra* is needlessly doubled as in *prasamnnā* in I, l. 5; the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled in certain places, e.g., *upasargga* (IV, l. 38), *jāgariti*, (III, l. 26), *mūrtti* (III, l. 23), etc. The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections have been indicated either in the body of the text or in the foot-notes accompanying it.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text so far available, which is entirely in verse, consists of 68 complete verses and parts of two others. Of these, 47, including the two fragments, are in the *Vasantatilakā*, 17 in the *Āryā*, 4 in the *Upajāti*, 1 in the *Drutavilambita*, and 1 in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metres.

The four plates bear the numbers 1, 3, 4 and 7. On the assumption that they all belong to one set of plates conveying a single gift, it has been gathered that the missing plates of the collection are the 2nd, 5th and 6th and also, one or more after the 7th, since the subject-matter in this last-mentioned plate is not complete³. But there are some difficulties militating against such an assumption. The verses on plates marked 1 and 7 are numbered while those on the plates marked 3 and 4 are not likewise numbered. Further, we have no clue in the plate marked 1 or in the other marked 7 to connect them, so far as their subject-matter is concerned, with the rest, i.e., those numbered 3 and 4, which are however continuous and interconnected. From this we get the first

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 172. [The plates are now reported to be missing.—Ed.]

² Part ii, pp. 79-80. Mr. V. Apparao, who contributed an article on these plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.), observes that ‘the rims of these plates are slightly raised’. Moreover, he gives the measurements of the plates differently. They measure, according to him, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 5". The inclusion by him of the 7th plate among the missing is probably due to his failure to notice that the last of the set bears the number 7.

³ [See below p. 48 n. 5.—Ed.]

impression that these four plates do not belong to one single set but are odd plates of different grants which have been accidentally found together. They may belong to more than one set, probably three, if we take the view that the plate marked 1 belongs to one set, those marked 3 and 4 to another and the one with No. 7 to a third¹.

However, this may not be the case and it is likely that they are all of one single set. Two factors are common to the plates. They are written in the same characters and style and contain the same variety of metres employed for the verses contained in them. The failure of the engraver to number the verses on the plates III and IV has probably to be attributed to his negligence, a tendency which has manifested itself even on the first plate. In the first plate, the first seven verses are correctly numbered; but the eighth verse bears the number 21, and the ninth has no number at all. This clearly indicates that the engraver has already abandoned the practice of numbering the verses. That may account for the absence of numerical figures to indicate the number of verses on plates III and IV. The seventh plate does not, however, admit of this explanation. As stated above, the verses on this plate are numbered; it opens with the 29th and closes with the 52nd verse. Why does the engraver revert again to the practice of numbering the verses, having abandoned it once before? A more important point which has to be taken notice of in this connection is the incompatibility of the figures attached to the verses with the number of the plate. It may be stated here that all the plates in this collection, contain 14 lines of writing except the last which has 15 lines on each of its two faces. Now, the first plate which is inscribed on only one side contains 9 verses. Taking roughly this to be the number of verses on each face of the remaining five plates, *viz.*, II, III, IV, V and VI, they should have contained 90 verses on the whole. This, together with the 9 verses on the first plate, would come to 99 verses; and the seventh should have begun with the 100th verse and not the 29th. We have to assume that either the engraver for some unknown reason reverted to the plan of numbering the verses commencing again a fresh series somewhere about the middle of the inscription; or the plate under consideration belongs to a different set altogether. Neither of these alternatives is entirely free from difficulties. On the one hand, it is hard to believe that an engraver who had deliberately abandoned the scheme of enumeration had developed a fresh interest in it; and on the other the incompatibility of the number of the plate (*viz.*, 7) with the numbers of the verses therein (*viz.*, 29 to 52), still remains unexplained, even though we take the plate as belonging to another set for the sake of argument.

In conclusion we may leave the matter open for decision later on when the missing plates happen to be discovered, and, for the present, treat all the plates as belonging to one set since this does not lead to any complications.

Contents : The nine verses in the first plate are devoted to the invocation of several gods of the Hindu pantheon. The first three verses contain the praises of Sarasvatī; verse 4 is devoted to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, verse 5 to Gaṇēśa, verse 6 to the Sun and the Moon, verse 7 to Durgā Mahishāśura-mardini, verse 8 to Kṣhētrapāla, and verse 9 to Śiva. The 36 unnumbered verses in plates III and IV describe the **genealogy** of the donor and the achievements of himself and his ancestors.

There was a king (his name is lost) who married **Annemāmbā**; and to them was born a king called **Ēruva Bhīma**. He married **Prōlāmbikā**; and their son was **Dāma** who married

¹ In support of this view, it may be stated that the first plate which measures 11·75" by 4·8" differs in its dimensions from the rest, each of which measures 11·0" by 5·3". These measurements are obtained from the impressions in my possession as the original which is unfortunately lost is no longer available.

Lakshmī. They begot **Sōma**, the husband of **Sūrāmbikā**, and from them was born **Gaṁgādhara**, the husband of **Irugāmbikā**, who bore the title of *Arigaṁḍaragaṁḍa* (a hero to hostile heroes). Gaṁgādhara and Irugāmbikā had a son, **Kāmarāja**, who, on account of his great devotion (*bhakti*) to Śiva came to be popularly known as **Bhaktirāja**. Even in his youth Bhaktirāja won a victory over the heroes, **Boggara** and other Yavana (Muhammadan) chiefs, in the neighbourhood of the town of **Gulapūṁḍi**; in the eastern direction, after winning a victory over the **Gajapati** in battle at **Pañchadhāra**, he installed the **Koppula** chief on his throne. He also subdued king **Sirṅga** near the town of **Bharanipāḍu** in a battle; vanquished with considerable prowess **Daburu-Khānu** and others with their *rākshasa* forces near **Pedakorṁḍapurī**; and, defeated, as if in mere sport, king Annavōta in the vicinity of the city of **Sūravara**. Bhaktīśvara married **Annemāmbā**, and founded a city called **Kalyāṇa** which became famous as **Kāmapurī**, the crest-jewel of the **Āndhra** country. The sound of the bells indicating the hours when worship was offered to god Śiva from the sunrise onwards entered the minds of the people walking along the streets of the city through the path of their ears and destroyed their sins. The learned men of the city became involved in discussion about the values of things by looking at musk and other valuable commodities exhibited for sale in the streets of the city.

Bhaktīśvara begot a son, the great **Annadēva** who surpassed Jayamta in beauty, and **Mṛigāṁka** (Moon) in brilliance, and who was as liberal as the tree of wish (*pārijāta*) in the distribution of gifts. Annadēva reduced, by the prowess of his arm, the hostile kings to the position of harlots.¹ Having gone to the help of the king of the **Turushkas** (the Muhammadans), he overcame with the sole help of his sword, the **Karnāṭa** army at **Sagara**; and like Śiva capturing the **Tripurī** he took **Jaggavāga** and (two ?) other cities from his enemies. Annadēva of the **Chōḍa-kula** fostered gods and Brāhmanas with care, and having become endowed with all kinds of wealth (*aishvarya*) by their favour, he was greatly devoted to the worship of god Viśvanātha.

Annadēva married **Irugāmbikā**, a sister of king **Pimṇurṁḍi**, and a daughter of **Chakravarti** of the solar family and had by her a son called **Virabhadra**. Annadēva defeated on the borders of **Attili** all the southern kings who were hostile to him, and offered protection to 10,000 of the enemy's forces who took refuge within the walls of that city. For the purpose of protecting his friend, he performed a heroic sacrifice with Pinayunḍi-rāja as *adhvaryu* on the sacrificial altar of **Kāṁkarapartti** on the bank of the **Gautamī** (*i.e.*, *Gōdāvarī*), making the **Kannaḍa** and other enemies the sacrificial victims. Being desirous only of fame, he offered protection to the family of **Kāṭaya-Vēma**, who bowed to his feet. While Annadēva was ruling the earth, people lived without trouble, sporting happily in the sugarcane fields and areca palm groves. The wealthy city of **Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra**, the crest-jewel of his country, was a resort of the merchants from all quarters.

King Annadēva worshipped Śiva six times a day waving innumerable lights at the lotus-feet of the god; he presented a thousand cows to the deity, and strictly observed the rule of feeding the Brāhmanas daily. He built a beautiful gilded mansion of seven storeys ornamented with the gilded images of damsels bearing golden fan, fly-whisk, flag and an umbrella with pearl tassels. He fed everyday sumptuously Śaiva-Brāhmanas, ascetics and *yōgins*; made a gift called *Gōṣahasra* to Brāhmanas in the presence of the god Virabhadra of **Paṭṭesa**; and performed the *dāna* called *Saptasāgara* to quench their thirst, as it were. Having surpassed Paraśurāma by

¹ The significance of '*vēśy-āṁganāyita-virōdhi-dharātālēndrō*' is not quite clear. [The idea seems to be that these kings were made to attend on various persons, probably at the Royal court, as the harlots have to entertain men without any choice on their part.—Ed.]

giving lands to Brāhmans along with the gift called the *Sucarṇa-Mēra*, Annadēva resembled Raghunāyaka. He caused the shrine of Vīrabhadra, the lord of Gōmukhagiri, and the pinnacle of the temple of Bhīmēśvara of Drākshārāma, the crest-jewel of the Āndhra country who had been worshipped by the former Chōḍa monarchs of his family, to be overlaid with gold. He also granted several villages to god Viśvēśvara of Kāsī, the patron-deity of his family, and founded for the habitation of Brāhmans, a village called (after him) Uttama-Gaṇḍa-**Chōḍ-Ānnadēvavaram** in **Visaṇi-nāṇḍu** at the confluence of the rivers Gaṁgā and Pīrmasānī. Annadēva also gave to Brāhmans (*Mahājanas*) an *agrahāra* called **Annadēvavaram** on the bank of the Gaṁgā near the western boundary of **Pallūri-Śailavaram**, and performed the marriages of several Brāhman couples.

The last or the seventh plate contains the names of donees who received *vr̥ttis* in a village, the name of which is lost. Of these, the following twenty-two received the *vr̥ttis* directly from the king, the donor :

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	No. of shares received.
1	Siṁgaya	Kūchanārya	Bhāradvāja	1
2	Rāmachandra	Kōvūri Rāma	Kaumḍinya	1
3	Bhāskara	Nṛihari	Kaumḍinya	1
4	Nārāyaṇa	Kāchibhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	1
5	Aubhaḷēmdra	Gūḍaparti Vallabha	Kāśyapa	1
6	Varadaya	Viddhaya	Ātrēya	1
7	Gaṁgādhareṁdra	Śrīrām-Ādima (Peda) Siṁ- gaya.	Kaumḍinya	1
8	Siṁgana	Gauraya	Bhāradvāja	1
9	Purushōttama	Āditya	Harita	1
10	Tallaya	Chinnāpi Kūchaya	Harita	1
11	Viśvēśvara	Amnama	Kaumḍinya	1
12	Amnama	Gōpālabhaṭṭa	Harita	1
13	Annaya	Mumjapi Gaṁgādhara	Kaumḍinya	1
14	Lakshmana	Vallabha	Bhāradvāja	1
15	Sādappula (Sādu Appala ?)	Vallabha	Kaumḍinya	1
16	Dumḍigaḍa Nāga	Nāgaya	Kāśyapa	1
17	Mallikārjuna	Rājukomḍa Mallaya	Kāśyapa	1
18	Maḍugūri Lakkana	Bhāradvāja	1
19	Śrīkrishṇa	Kōlalapalli Ādima (Peda) Siṁgaya.	Kāśyapa	1
20	Śrīrāma	Kamḍukūri Aubhaḷa	Harita	1
21	Ananta	Śrīkrishṇamayya	Śrīvatsa	1
22	Aubhaḷa	Dēvaya	Bhāradvāja	1

One of the twenty-two donees, (No. 1) Siṅgaya, son of Kūchanārya of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, is said to have been a friend of the king (*avanipati-mitraṁ*), probably the donor of the *agrahāra*. Besides the twenty-two donees enumerated above, there were two others who did not receive their shares directly from the original donor but from the other donees. The *Mahājanas*, i.e., the Brāhmans who received shares in the *agrahāra*, granted one *ṛitti* to Janārdana, son of Sarvadēva of the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra*, and another to the god Kēdāra-Mahēśvara who was set up with devotion by Mādhava, son of Kaljara Kommarāja.

The inscription is important as it furnishes valuable information about the history of the *Ēruva* branch of the Telugu Chōḍa family. A few more records of the family including the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja,¹ have been published; but the historical information that could be gleaned from them is so meagre that little more than the names of the princes of a few generations is known. But the present grant gives a fairly full account of the part played by the members of the family in the affairs of their respective ages. Seven generations of the family, as noticed already, are described in this grant and the names mentioned in it agree, with some variations, with those furnished in the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja. The genealogical lists given in these two records are subjoined hereunder for the purpose of comparison :—

The Madras Museum Plates.	Present Plates.
Karikāla = Annemāmbā
Nalla-Bhīma	Ēruva-Bhīma m. Prōlāmbikā
Dāma m. Lakshmi	Dāma m. Lakshmi
Sōma m. Sūrāmbikā	Sōma m. Sūrāmbikā
Gaṁgādhara m. Irugāmbā, d. of Kāmabhūpa of the Lunar race and a sister of Vēṅga- bhūpati.	Gaṁgādhara m. Irugāmbikā
Bhaktirāja	Kāmarāja or Bhaktirāja m. Annemāmbā
	Annadēva m. Irugāmbikā
	Virabhadra

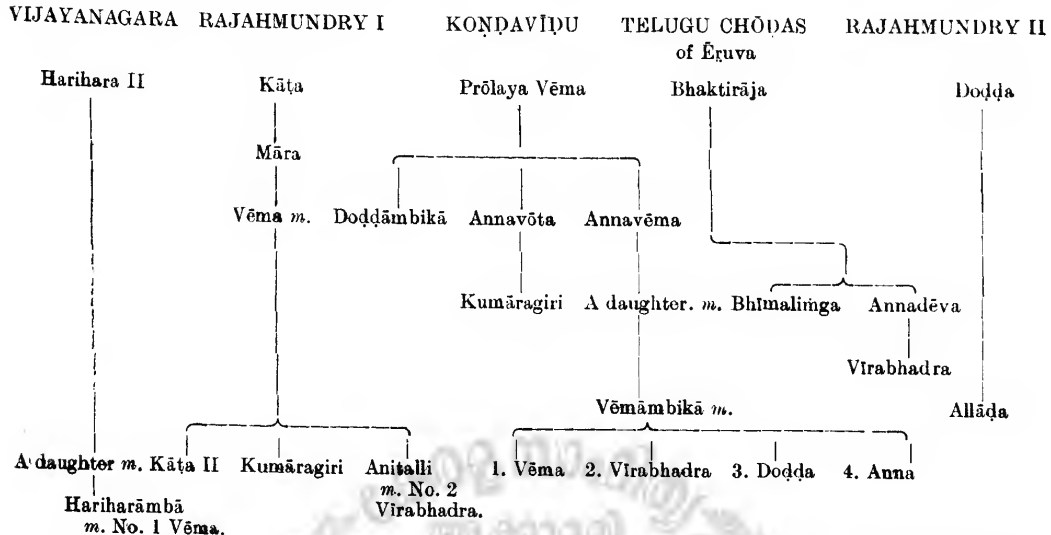
Five generations of the *Ēruva* Chiefs are mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates, while the present charter, however, enumerates seven generations. The name of the father of *Ēruva-Bhīma* and the husband of Annemāmbā is not known, as it is lost with the second plate. Besides, it also includes Annadēva and Virabhadra, a son and grandson respectively of Bhaktirāja, not mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates, thus making up a pedigree of seven generations. Though the names of the remaining members of the family are common to both the charters, there are certain variations which must be noticed. Nalla-Bhīma of the Madras Museum Plates is spoken of in the present charter as *Ēruva-Bhīma*. The difference is not material. Bhīma is the actual name of the prince and the terms 'Nalla' and 'Ēruva' appear to have been prefixed to it to indicate the complexion of his body and the principality over which he held sway respectively. Again the name Bhaktirāja is said to be a sobriquet, acquired by the prince on account of his excessive devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Siva, his real name being Kāmarāja. Lastly the present charter

¹J. O. R., Vol. V, pp. 128 & 129.

mentions the wives of all the chiefs of the family excepting Annadēva's son Virabhadra who was probably unmarried at the time, whereas the Madras Museum Plates refer to the names of the wives of only three. The differences between the two genealogical lists are not of much consequence; they may therefore be taken to be genuine accounts of the family pedigree.

While describing the military activity of Annadēva and his ancestors, the inscription incidentally reveals the political condition and the inter-state relations in South India during the 15th century A.D. It alludes to wars between the South Indian states in which the Ēruva chiefs were involved. A brief description of the political geography of these warring states is necessary for a clear understanding of the events mentioned in this record. At the beginning of the fifteenth century there were five major kingdoms besides a few independent or semi-independent principalities: (1) The largest and the most powerful of the kingdoms was no doubt the kingdom of Karnāta or Vijayanagara. It embraced the whole of South India south of the river Kṛishṇā, excluding the coastal strip comprising portions of the present Nellore, Guntur and Kistna Districts which formed an integral part of the independent kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu. (2) The territory under the sway of the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu extended along the east coast during the palmy days of their power, from Kandukūr in the Nellore District to the shores of the Chilka lake in the north; but by the beginning of the 15th century it fell into two independent subdivisions generally hostile to each other. The southern half was governed from Koṇḍaviḍu, the original capital, whereas the city of Rajahmundry became the capital of the northern kingdom. (3) On the north of the Redḍi kingdom lay the dominions of the Gajapatis of Orissa, who, on account of their ancient connection with Southern Kāṣiṅga (Ganjam, Vizagapatam and the East Godavari Districts), were vitally interested in the affairs of the Redḍi kingdom. (4) To the west of the Redḍi, the south-west of the Gajapati, and the north of the Vijayanagara territories lay the Velama kingdom of Telingāṇa with the ancient city of Warangal as its capital, and the forts of Rāchakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa as its main strongholds. Despite the encroachments of the Bahmanī Sultans who had succeeded in annexing a considerable slice of the kingdom including the fort of Gōlkoṇḍa, the Velamas still held sway over an extensive dominion comprising Nalgoṇḍa, Mahbūbnagar, Warangal, Medak, Adilābād, and Karimnagar Districts of the present Hyderabad state. (5) On the west of Telingāṇa and the north of Karnāta extended the territory of the Bahmanī Sultans comprising the whole of the south-western Deccan from Gōlkoṇḍa in Telingāṇa to the shores of the Arabian sea in the west. Within these major kingdoms, especially in the dominions subjected to the authority of the Redḍis, there flourished several small principalities whose loyalty and submissiveness were conditioned by the capacity of the paramount power to exact obedience. Three such principalities deserve notice in this connection: (1) Ēruva, a small principality on the borders of the Nellore, Kurnool and Guntur Districts of the Madras Presidency, was the seat of one of the numerous branches of the Telugu Chōḍa family, of which Annadēva, the donor of the present grant, and his father Bhaktiśvara were distinguished members. (2) Kōrukoṇḍa, a hill-fort in the Gōḍāvari valley at a distance of about nine miles to the north of Rajahmundry was the capital of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs who ruled over a small territory comprising the districts of Pāpāra, Kōṇa, Kuravāṭa, and Cheṅgara. (3) The coastal strip from the banks of the Gautamī to Simhāchalām in the Vizagapatam District was originally under the Koppula chiefs who had Piṭhāpuram in the East Godavari District, as their capital, but with the advent of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs, their authority in the Gōḍāvari valley came to an end; and they were obliged to retire eastwards into the hilly region in the western part of the present Vizagapatam District, where they appear to have been ruling at the time of Bhaktirāja's victory at Pañchadhāra.

As the ruling families of several of the states mentioned above were connected by marriage alliances which influenced the course of events described in the present record, a chart showing their inter-relationship is given below :—



Of the Ēruva chiefs mentioned in this charter, only three viz., Ēruva-Bhīma, Bhaktirāja and Annadēva, deserve any notice here.

1. **Ēruva Bhīma** has been identified with a certain Mailama-Bhīma, a chief of unknown origin, whose military exploits are recounted in a few Telugu *Chātu* verses,¹ but this identification is not beyond question. It is pointed out that the mother of Mailama-Bhīma, as indicated by the name itself, was Mailama, whereas it is definitely stated in the present inscription that the name of Ēruva Bhīma's mother was Annemāmbā. These two persons, therefore, could not have been identical². Apart from the literary reference, there is an epigraph assignable to the middle of the 13th century at Tāḷla-Proddutūr in the Cuddapah District which gives some definite information about the activities of Ēruva-Bhīma.³ This epigraph which consists of a single verse in the *Uṭpala-mālā* metre, states that Viśaṇa-nāṇḍu, Chakraghoṭṭa, Manniya, Vaḍḍe Tekkali, Manthana, Vēṅgi, Kaḷiṅga and other countries were ruined by an invasion of Ēruva-Bhīma. The circumstances in which he had undertaken this expedition are not known. It may be remembered that Bhīma was but the chief of a small principality, and with his limited resources he could not have by himself embarked on a prolonged military campaign, and successfully penetrated to Chakrakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. He must have had a powerful ally, whom he might have actually assisted in subjugating the places mentioned in the Tāḷla-Proddutūr epigraph. To discover who this ally was, the age in which Bhīma himself lived must be ascertained at first. Bhaktirāja, the fifth in descent from Bhīma, made a gift of the village of Kaṇḍavakolanu or Kaḍavakolanu on Monday the 7th November A.D. 1356 to a bachelor called Viśvanātha at Śrīśaila.⁴

¹ V. Prabhakara Sastri—*Chātupadya-maṇimāñjarī*, ii, p. 58.

² T. N. Ramachandran—*J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 132. V. Apparao believes that Mailama-Bhīma was also known as Ēruva-Bhīma. How this could have been possible, he does not, however, explain (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-6).

³ No. 308 of 1935-6 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; published in *Bhārati* Vol. XV, p. 158.

⁴ *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 334.

Taking this year to be the first year of his reign and allowing a duration of 25 years for each generation, we get $1356 - (4 \times 25) = \text{A.D. } 1256$ as the approximate date of the commencement of Bhīma's reign. The whole of the Telugu country including the principality of Ēṛuva acknowledged the supremacy of the Kākatiyas at this period. As a matter of fact the officers of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati were engaged in reducing Vēṅgi and Kaḷiṅga¹; and it is not unlikely that they might have subdued portions of the Central Provinces including Chakraghoṭṭa. Therefore it is not improbable that Bhīma, who from all accounts appears to have been a distinguished warrior, followed the Kākatiya armies and contributed much to their success.

2. **Bhaktirāja** also was a great warrior. The present inscription gives a full account of his achievements. He is said to have waged war successfully with several chiefs.

i. While he was still a youth, Bhaktirāja defeated Boggara and other Muhammadan warriors in a battle in the neighbourhood of Gulapūṇḍi.

ii. He defeated in the east the Gajapati near Pañchadhāra, and installed the Koppula chief on his throne.

iii. Near the city of Bharanipāḍu, he defeated the famous warrior Siṅga.

iv. In the vicinity of Pedakomḍapurī he overthrew the demoniac armies of Daburu-Khānu and others.

v. He overcame Annavōta in a battle near the town of Sūravara.

These achievements of Bhaktirāja must be assigned to a period subsequent to A.D. 1356, the year in which he granted the village Kaḍavakolanu to the Śaiva ascetic Viśvēśvara of Śrīparvata; for, in the charter recording this grant, though his valour is praised in general terms, no specific mention is made of any enemy whom he had overthrown in battle. It is unlikely that the author of the *prasaṣti* would have failed to mention his victories, had he any to his credit at that time. Moreover, the earliest known record of his son and successor Annadēva is dated in Śaka 1310, Vibhava, i.e., A.D. 1388-89.² Bhaktirāja's reign may be taken to have terminated some time before that year. He probably ascended the throne in A.D. 1356 itself; and it is not probable that he could have won any notable victory so early in his reign.

i. *Victory over Boggara* :—According to the present Rajahmundry Museum Plates, **his victory over the Muhammadans under Boggara** and others was won while he was yet a youth. This clearly indicates that he was a young man at the time of his accession to his ancestral throne, and harmonizes well with the comparatively long period suggested for his reign by the inscriptions mentioned above. Boggara is a Sanskrit corruption of Bughra, a name common enough among the Mussalmans of the 14th century A. D. It is not possible, however, to identify the bearer of this name in the present context. Nor is it possible to fix the locality where the encounter took place. Gulapūṇḍi is no doubt the same as Gollapūḍi; but as several villages in the Telugu country go by that name, no definite conclusions can be reached about its identity.³ It may, however, be remembered in this connection that this was Bhaktirāja's first victory, won by him while he was still a youth. As he was a scion of the Ēṛuva family and as his only known inscription records the gift of a village to a religious teacher residing at Śrīparvata, it may be reasonably assumed that Gulapūṇḍi where he defeated Bughra Khān was situated somewhere in the southern Telugu country.

¹ *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 3, ii. p. 16, Upparapalli Inscription of the reign of Gaṇapatidēva.—Cf. M. Somaśekhara Śarma, Kākatiyas and Kaḷiṅga, *Kaḷiṅga-Saṅchika*, p. 381.

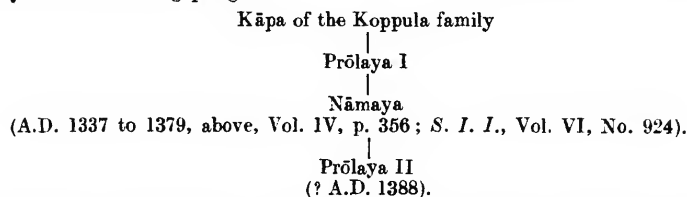
² No. 254 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ A village called Gollapūḍi is found in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District; another in the Bezwaḍa taluk and a third in the Nuzvid division of the Kistna District.

ii. *Victory over the Gajapati king*.—Bhaktirāja's second victory was won over the Gajapati at Pañchadhāra in the Vizagapatam District. As this victory is said to have led to the installation of the Koppula chief on his throne, it is reasonable to infer that the Koppula chief, whose territory extended up to Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District, was expelled from his country by the Gajapati and that Bhaktirāja assisted the dispossessed chief to win back his dominions. It may be pointed out here that the Koppula chiefs were ousted, as mentioned already, from the Gōdāvari Valley by Mañchikoṇḍa Mummaḍi-Nāyaka and his brothers (*Madras Epigraphical Report* 1911-12, Part II, para. 68, and above, Vol. XIV, p. 96) and the attack of the Gajapati on their dominions appears to have been somehow connected with the invasion of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs. The Gajapati seems to have attacked the Koppulas either in concert with Mummaḍi-Nāyaka or on his own account, taking advantage of the confusion caused in their dominions by the Mañchikoṇḍa invasion. The Gajapati whom Bhaktirāja defeated at Pañchadhāra must have been Vīra-Bhānudēva (? A.D. 1350 to 1378), son and successor of Narasimha III; and the Koppula chief on whose behalf he waged war upon the Gajapati was probably Kāpaya II or one of his cousins.¹ Bhaktirāja, it may be recollected, was the ruler of a minor principality in the southern Telugu country; and his strength and resources must have been limited. The circumstances under which he managed not only to wage war successfully on the Gajapati, the powerful king of Kaṭiṅga, but also to restore, in the teeth of his opposition, the Koppula chief to his ancestral dominions are not even hinted at.

To understand the political situation under which these events came to pass, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the history of the east coast of the Telugu country during the years that immediately succeeded the fall of the Kākatiya monarchy. The Muslim rule, if it had ever been effectively established, lasted only a short while. The actual administration of the country remained in the hands of the Hindus. The country was partitioned among a host of petty kings, seventy-five in number, according to the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli dated A.D. 1423²; and they, having united together under the leadership

¹ The Dōnepūṇḍi grant of Nāmaya-Nāyaka of A.D. 1338 (above, Vol. IV, p. 356) and the Simhāchalam inscription of his son Prōla II, dated A.D. 1388 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 822) which give the genealogical account of the Koppula family yield the following pedigree:



The date of the latter inscription is unfortunately partially effaced. The last two figures preserved in the chronogram; 'khēndu' i.e., '10' (*ibid.*, l. 9) enable us to restore the date completely. It is said that Prōla II, the donor of the inscription under consideration, was the son of Nāmaya, grandson of Prōla I and great-grandson of Kāpaya. Nāmaya mentioned in this record is identical with the donor of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant dated Ś. 1259. He also figures as the donor of another epigraph at Simhāchalam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 924) dated Ś. 1291. His son Prōlaya could not have been living in Ś. 1210. Since the latest of Nāmaya's inscriptions is dated in Ś. 1291, the first two figures of the date of Prōlaya II in the inscription must be 13. It is therefore obvious that the date of the inscription in question is Ś. 1310 (=A.D.1388).

Besides the chiefs mentioned in the above pedigree, Koppula-Pōli Nāyaṇḍu, evidently an earlier member of the family who flourished about A.D. 1269 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 765), and a certain Koppula Kāpaya-Nāyaka (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 821) who lived about A.D. 1360 are referred to in the inscriptions. Their position in the family pedigree cannot be ascertained at present.

² *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, p. 107.

of a certain Prōlaya-Nāyaka, expelled the Muhammadans and re-established the Hindu independence. Prōlaya was succeeded by Kāpaya, and after the demise of the latter the petty chiefs asserted their independence; but soon the stronger subdued their weaker neighbours and laid the foundations of powerful kingdoms. One of these was the Redḍi chief Prōlaya-Vēma, the ruler of Addanki, in the southern fringe of the present Guntur District. He welded together the small states in the coastal region to the south of the Kṛishṇā into a strong kingdom, and extended his territory further by bringing the whole of the east coast as far as the frontier of Orissa under his sway. His victories on the east coast are detailed in a copper-plate charter dated in A.D. 1336, where, among other things, it is said that he crushed the honour of Kaḷiṅgarāya, burnt the abode of Oḍḍiyarāya and confounded the Rāya of Janturnāḍu, sported in the waters of Kuṇḍi-prabhā (the Guṇḍlakamma), Sahyajā (the Kṛishṇā) and Gautamī (the Gōḍavari), and that he granted many *agahāras* to the Brāhmanas, and established *satras* (feeding houses) in the country lying on both the banks of as well as in between the rivers Brahmakuṇḍi (the Guṇḍlakamma), Kṛishṇavēṇi, Gōḍavari and Mahānadi¹. It is obvious that Vēma's military activity extended over the whole east coast from the river Guṇḍlakamma in the south to Cuttack on the banks of the Mahānadi in the north. He does not, however, appear to have retained all his northern conquests; and his authority in the north of the Gōḍavari did not perhaps long outlast the period of conquest, for the Gajapati seems to have soon reasserted his power and recovered the country as far as the Gōḍavari, as is covertly alluded to in the charter under consideration. Moreover, an epigraph at Pañchadhārāla in the Vizagapatam District dated A.D. 1403, suggests that Chōḍa II, the grandfather of the Kōṇa-Haiḥaya chief Chōḍa III, who must have lived about the middle of the 14th century A.D., was an ally, if not actually a subordinate of the Gajapati². Chōḍa II probably ousted the Koppula family from its hereditary possessions with the help of the Gajapati; and the dispossessed member turned for help to Annavōta, who, by this time, had succeeded his father Vēma on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu. As a matter of fact, Annavōta's presence in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry at a striking distance from the southern frontier of Kaḷiṅga about this time is testified to by an inscription at Drākshārāma of A.D. 1357.³ Moreover, in one of Annavēma's early records dated A.D. 1371 it is stated that Annavōta overthrew his enemies from the Kṛishṇā to the Gōḍavari, thence as far as the Vindhya.⁴ There is thus sufficient evidence to justify the assumption that Annavōta had marched with his army against the Gajapati about A.D. 1357 to drive him back and restore the Koppula chief to his throne; and Bhaktirāja, who must have been a subordinate of Annavōta at that time, had accompanied him and distinguished himself in the campaign. If what is said above is not unreasonable, it may be stated that the battle of Pañchadhārā mentioned in this charter appears to have been a decisive engagement, which finally brought the campaign to a close.

iii. *Victory at Bharanipāḍu* :—Bhaktirāja is said to have **vanquished** a king called **Siṅga** in the vicinity of the city of Bharanipāḍu⁵. This king still remains unidentified. There were at

¹ No. 5 of 1919-20, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 267 ff.

² S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 657.

³ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1387.

⁴ *Āndhrapatrika* (Annual Number 1922, p. 168).

Jitvā śrīy-Anapōta-bhūtalapatir=vīrān-arātīn balād=
ā Kṛishṇā-tatīnī-tatād=bhuvanam=apy-ā Gautamī-srōtasah |
ā Vindhyaḍ=iti yat=kavīndra-vaohīnam yasay=āpadāna-stutau
pratyabdam pratipakṣa-dēśa-jayīnas=tat=pūrvapakṣāyitam ||

⁵ In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Southern Circle) for 1911-12, Part ii, p. 80, it is said that Bhaktirāja killed a king called Siṅga close to the town of Bharanipāḍu. This is not quite accurate as the text of the inscription has *vyanaishīl* meaning only 'vanquished'.

this time two kings of this name. One of them was the Velama ruler of Rāchakoṇḍa in the present Nalgonda District of the Nizam's State, who was assassinated at the siege of Jallipalli in Śaka 1283, Śārvari, (A.D. 1361-62) by Tambaḷa Bommajiyya¹; the other was a brother of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka, the ruler of Kōrukoṇḍa in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry. According to the Śrīraṅgam plates dated A.D. 1358-59, Mummaḍi-Nāyaka who conquered 'the countries of Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, Cheṅgara and others lying on either bank of the river Gōdāvarī, allowed his younger brother Siṅga' to govern the principality of Kōṭyapuri.² Now, the king Siṅga whom Bhaktirāja vanquished must have been one of these two chiefs. It may be noted that most of Bhaktirāja's activities were confined to the valley of the Gōdāvarī, and he does not appear to have had any connection with Teliṅgāna where Siṅga of Rāchakoṇḍa was ruling. Moreover, the *Velugōḍivāri-vamśāvalī*³ which enumerates the enemies of the Velama king does not mention Bhaktirāja among his foes. Therefore, it is unlikely that he should have come into conflict with Bhaktirāja. There is, on the other hand, much presumptive evidence for believing that Siṅga mentioned in the present charter is identical with Siṅga, one of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka's younger brothers. It may be noted that Mummaḍi who conquered the territory on both the banks of the Gōdāvarī entrusted the government of Kōṭyapuri and Tāḍipāka to his younger brothers Siṅga and Ganna respectively. Kōṭyapuri⁴ is identical with Koṭṭhām in the Tuni division and Tāḍipāka with Tāṭipāka in the Razole taluk of the East Godavari District. This territory originally belonged to the Koppula chiefs. According to the Dōnepūṇḍi grant of A.D. 1338, Koppula Nāmaya-Nāyaka was ruling at that time 'the *Āndhrakhaṇḍa-maṇḍala*' 'extending from the banks of the Gautamī river (i.e., the Gōdāvarī) to Kaḷiṅga' with the city of Piṭhāpuri as his capital.⁵ Now, in the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka dated A.D. 1358, it is stated, as noted already, that he conquered the country on both the banks of the Gōdāvarī. It follows from this that Mummaḍi-Nāyaka wrested this territory from Nāmaya-Nāyaka between A.D. 1338 and 1358. As Mummaḍi married a niece of the famous Āndhra-Suratrāṇa Kāpaya-Nāyaka, a fact which is particularly mentioned in the records of Mummaḍi and his brothers,⁶ it is not unlikely that he should have received the help of his powerful relative in effecting the conquest. If Bhaktirāja, as stated in the present grant, had restored the Koppula chief to his kingdom, he could not have accomplished the task without coming into conflict with Mummaḍi-Nāyaka and his brothers. Therefore the Siṅga who sustained a defeat at Bharanipāḍu at the hands of Bhaktirāja has to be identified with Siṅga, the younger brother of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka of the Kōrukoṇḍa family.

iv. *The victory at Pedakoṇḍa* :—The town Pedakoṇḍa, where Bhaktirāja won a **victory over the Muhammadans under Daburu-Khānu**, is identical with Pedakoṇḍa in the Bhadrachalam taluk of the East Godavari District. The original form of Daburu-Khānu which is but a Telugu corruption of the name of the chief, cannot be definitely restored, as it may stand for Dabīr Khān or Zafar Khān. In any case, his identity cannot be established with certainty, though it may be surmised that he must have been connected with one of the Muslim sovereigns who invaded Tilang at this time.

¹ The *Velugōḍivāri-vamśāvalī*, p. 23.

² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 96.

³ The *Velugōḍivāri-vamśāvalī*, pp. 17-18.

⁴ K. Rama Sastri and T. A. Gopinatha Rao have suggested different identifications for Kōṭyapuri. The former identifies it with Kōṭipalli on the Vṛiddha-Gautamī (above, Vol. XIII, p. 261); and the latter with a place called Kōṭi in the Rajahmundry taluk of the East Godavari District (*ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 89).

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 371.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 272; Vol. XIV, p. 95.

The Delhi Sultan, Firūz Tughluq made an attack upon Jājñagar in 761 A.H. (October-November, A.D. 1360); he marched upon the city of Banāraśi (Cuttack), the capital of the Gajapati. On the approach of Firūz, the Gajapati, Vira-Bhānudeva II, crossed the Mahānadi and retreated towards Tilang. The Sultan pursued him for a day, but giving up the pursuit busied himself in the neighbourhood.¹ Though the Sultan himself abandoned the pursuit, he might have entrusted the task to Zafar Khān, the pretender to the throne of Lakhnauti, who appears to have accompanied him during the expedition. It is not unlikely that this Muslim chief should have advanced as far as the Gōdāvarī where he might have been opposed at Pedakoṇḍa by Bhaktirāja and repulsed. This is one possibility. The other is that Bhaktirāja might have come into conflict with the forces of the Bahmanī Sultan, and won a victory over them near Pedakoṇḍa. The Bahmanī armies invaded Tilang during the period of Bhaktirāja's rule on two occasions, once during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan and then again in the time of his son and successor Muḥammad Shāh I. As the second invasion did not proceed beyond Filampāṭan or Vēlampāṭan, a place which is said to have been at a distance of eight days' journey from Kalyan,² the army could not have reached Pedakoṇḍa on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the Ghats. But the invasion which was led by 'Alā-ud-dīn himself in person in A.D. 1357, appears to have swept over the whole of Tilang. Sayyid 'Ali gives a brief account of the invasion in his *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*.

"After spending some time in pleasure in his capital, he (the Sultan) was again desirous of conquering the country of Tilang. For nearly a year he travelled through the country of Telīngāna, and having taken possession of the district of Bhonāgīr, he overthrew the idol-temples and instead of them built mosques and public schools."³

Sayyid 'Ali's account is corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions. An epigraph of Pillalamarri near Warangal which may belong to A.D. 1357 records that the temple of Erukēśvaradeva which was destroyed by Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn was rebuilt by a certain Erapōtu Lemika, a servant of Kāpaya-Nāyaka, the lord of the Āndhra country.⁴ The invasion did not stop with Bhōnāgīr but spread south-eastwards towards the sea, and reached Dharanikōṭa on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. An epigraph in the temple of Amarēśvara at Amarāvati in the Guntur District dated 22nd July A.D. 1361, describes how Kētaya Vēma, an officer of king Anavōta of Koṇḍaviḍu, repulsed the Muslim cavalry and re-installed the image of Amarēśvara, which had evidently been destroyed by the invaders.⁵ Kētaya was assisted in the battle by Malla, one of king Anavōta's paternal uncles. In an unpublished copper-plate charter of Śivaliṅga Redḍi, a descendant of Malla, dated A.D. 1413, it is said that Malla defeated 'Alā-ud-dīn and other Turushka warriors.⁶ Therefore, the Bahmanī invasion was checked by the Redḍis at Dharanikōṭa and turned back. Though 'Alā-ud-dīn's activities in other parts of Tilang are not known, he appears to have reduced the country from Bhōnāgīr to the banks of the river Gōdāvarī to subjection. 'His dominions', according to Sayyid 'Ali, 'extended from the east side of Daulatābād to Bhōnāgīr and the river Gōdāvarī both north and south sides—to

¹ The *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (G. O. S. LXIII), pp. 135-36.

² Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 303.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 152.

⁴ *Telīngāna Inscriptions*, p. 163.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 226.

⁶ *Local Records*, Vol. III, p. 469.

*Vēmādhīpasy-āvarajō=pi Malla-
Bhūvallabhō=sau jagān-obba-gaṇḍaḥ |
Allāvādīn-ādi-Turushka-mallān
samullasād=bhalla-gaṇān vijītya ||*

the river Ganga'.¹ An officer who probably bore the name of Dabīr or Zafar Khān and who was in the service of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn might have attempted to cross the Ghats through the valley of the Gōdāvarī and found his path barred at Pedakoṇḍa by Bhaktirāja, who having inflicted a defeat on his forces, had compelled him to retreat.

v. *Victory at Sūravaram* :—The last military achievement attributed to Bhaktirāja in these plates is a **victory** which he is said to have won over a certain king called **Annāvōta** at Sūravaram. The identity of this king cannot be definitely established, as there were two contemporaries of Bhaktirāja who bore this name. One of them was the Reḍḍi ruler, Anavōta, the son of Prōlaya Vēma, who has been already mentioned in an earlier context. The other was Anavōta, the son of Rāvu Siṅga, the king of Rāchakoṇḍa in Tilang. Which of these two was the king who sustained defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja on the battlefield of Sūravaram cannot be determined at present with certainty.² We may, however, attempt to solve the problem by ascertaining the location of Sūravaram, the site of the battle, which may perhaps throw some light on the subject. The place, however, cannot be identified definitely. Several villages of the name of Sūravaram or Sūrapuram are mentioned in the *Postal Directory* and the *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*.

Village.	Taluk or Division.	District.
1. Sūravaram	Chicacole	Ganjam.
2. Sūravaram	Palakonda	Vizagapatam.
3. Sūravaram	Bhadrachalam	E. Godavari.
4. Sūravaram	Bhadrachalam	E. Godavari.
5. Sūravaram-Annāvaram	Tuni	E. Godavari.
6. Sūravaram	Nuzvid	Kistna.
7. Sūrapuram	Nidadavole	W. Godavari.

Assuming that all these villages were in existence during the period under consideration, it is difficult to discover which of these was actually the site of the battle. Of these, Sūravaram in the Chicacole taluk of the Ganjam District may be excluded from the present discussion, as it lay outside the Reḍḍi dominions. All the other villages must have been included in the Reḍḍi kingdom, as they are situated in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. It is interesting to note

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 152. The description of the boundaries given here is rather vague; and the translation agrees with the original text closely. In the published Persian text, the passage describing the boundaries runs as follows:

بالجمله سلطان را درین مدت اکثر بلاد و قلاع ملک دکن در قبضه اقتدار و ضبط بندگان درگاه
گیتی پناه در آمد - چنانچه از جانب شرق دولت آباد تا بهونایر و آب گوداوری جانب شمال و جانب
جنوب تا آب گنگ . . . بود -

(*Tarikh-i-Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, p. 28). It is rather difficult to understand how the Gōdāvarī could have formed the boundary of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn's territory both on the north and the south. The idea which the author wanted to convey was probably that 'Alā-ud-dīn's dominions extended from Bhōnāgīr to the Gōdāvarī and also from Gōdāvarī to (Pen) Gaṅgā.

² Mr. T. N. Ramachandran asserts that the identity of Anavōta, who was defeated at Sūravaram, 'becomes clear from the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma dated Śaka 1300' (*J. O. R.*, 1931, p. 133.). It is true that the inscription in question mentions the Reḍḍi king Anavōta, but does not offer any clue which may lead to the identification of Bhaktirāja's enemy. The Vānapalli plates, as a matter of fact, have no bearing on the present problem.

that no village of the name of Sūravaram is found in Tilang, as far as it can be ascertained from the available records. Nor is there any evidence to show that Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa had ever led an expedition to the coastal region. Taking all these facts into consideration, the probability appears to be that the person who suffered defeat at Sūravaram was not Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa, but the Redḍi ruler of Koṇḍaviḍu of that name. Another fact which lends support to this view must be noticed in this connection. During the latter part of the reign of Anavōta there was a widespread rebellion against his authority in the northern part of his kingdom, and he lost control over the territory beyond the Krishṇā.¹ Though the incidents of this rebellion are not yet fully known, the total absence of the Redḍi inscriptions between A.D. 1363 and 1371 seems to indicate that the power of the Redḍis suffered an eclipse. The attack on Dharaṇikōṭa by Māda, the younger brother of Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa, and the defeat of Anavōta-Redḍi in battle and his flight must also be assigned to this period.² Taking advantage of the troubles that had beset his overlord, Bhaktirāja appears to have joined the rebels, and asserted his independence. Anavōta appears to have made an attempt to put down the rebellion and reassert his authority. The rebel forces, however, proved too much for his strength and he sustained defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja.

Two more facts are mentioned in the present inscription about Bhaktirāja. (1) He laid the foundations of a new city which he called after his own name **Kāmapurī**; and it seems to have been made **the capital of his principality**. The situation of Kāmapurī is not definitely known, as no village of that name is found at present in the east coast of the Telugu country. There are, however, two villages bearing the name of Kāmavaram which is generally believed to be a corruption of Kāmapuram. One of them is now a deserted village in the Ellavaram division of the East Godavari District; and the other is situated in the Vizianagaram taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Besides these villages there is a Kāmavarapupāḍu in the Ellavaram division, and a Kāmavarapukōṭa, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the West Godavari District. Mr. V. Apparao believes that the latter is identical with the town founded by Bhaktirāja.³ (2) He also **married Annemāmbā** by whom he had a son called Annadēva. Bhaktirāja had according to Niśsaṅku Kommana, a contemporary writer, another son called Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga,⁴ of whom nothing is said in this inscription. This has probably to be attributed to the want of cordiality between the brothers, the causes of which will be explained presently.

¹ *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1915, part ii, para. 59. This record (No. 20 of 1915) which was set up at Śrīsaīlam in A.D. 1377 by an officer of Koṇḍaviḍu refers to certain events which seem to have taken place before Anavēma's accession. It is said that Anavēma destroyed a number of forts both on land and in the water (*sthala-durga* and *jala-durga*) in the deltas of the Krishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. This region was, according to Errā Pregarāḍa's *Harivaṁśa* under the sway of Prōlaya Vēma (*Harivaṁśa*, part ii, 2 : 1 ; 4 : 1) ; and it was included in the dominions subjected to the authority of Anavōta until A.D. 1357, as shown by the Drākshārāmam epigraph cited above. There would have been no occasion for Anavēma to conquer, much less to destroy the *sthala-durgas* and *jala-durgas* in the deltas of the Krishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, had there been no rebellion in this region. Anavēma's authority was recognized in the Gōdāvarī valley from the very beginning of his reign, as shown by his inscriptions (above, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff. ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 785 ; *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 115 ; above, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff. ; No. 446 of 1893 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection*). Therefore, the rebellion referred to above must have broken out before Anavēma's accession. Probably Anavēma himself was benefited by the rebellion ; for, in the Śrīsaīlam inscription mentioned above, Anavēma is said to have been the lord chosen by the damsel of sovereignty in a *svayamvara* (*rājya-ramaṇāḥ-svayamvara-labdha-nāyaka*). This is a covert statement which alludes to the illegal assumption of sovereignty by Anavēma, setting aside his nephew Kumārāgiri, the rightful heir to the throne. Anavōta probably died unexpectedly while the rebels were still at large ; and taking advantage of the prevailing confusion in the kingdom, Anavēma seized the throne ignoring the claims of his young nephew.

² The *Velugōḍivāri-vamśāvalī*, vv. 80, 81.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

⁴ Niśsaṅku Kommana : *Śivalīlāvilāsam*. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 241 (see note 1 on p. 29 below).

How long Bhaktirāja continued to rule his principality after the events described above is not quite clear. According to an epigraph summarised by the Mackenzie Surveyors, his son and successor Annadēva was crowned in the city of R(K?)ānavaram on Āsvija, śu. 10, of the year Parābhava corresponding to Śaka 1259.¹ The date is unfortunately irregular. The Śaka and the cyclic years do not agree. The cyclic year Parābhava does not coincide with Śaka 1259 but with Śaka 1289. As the Śaka year given in the record yields a date far too early for the coronation of Annadēva, it must be rejected as inaccurate. If, on the other hand, the cyclic year is taken to be correct, Annadēva's coronation may be said to have taken place in A.D. 1366. Much however cannot be built on the basis of the information furnished by this inaccurately dated record especially as the original is not available for our examination. The earliest genuine record of Annadēva is a short epigraph dated Śaka 1310, Vibhava (A.D. 1388); and it registers the gift of Kāñchanapalle to the temple of Śiva at Tripurāntakam in the Markapur taluk of the Kurnool District.² He seems to have passed under a cloud during the next sixteen years: and when at the end of this period he emerges into light again, he is found ruling with full titles of sovereignty in the neighbourhood of Drākshārāmam.³ There is reason to believe that he was in exile, for, in the first place, the provenance of the inscriptions of Kumāragiri-Redḍi who ascended the throne in or about A.D. 1382 clearly shows that the lower Gōdāvarī valley wherein lay the family estates of Annadēva was included in the Redḍi kingdom.⁴ The Komāragirivaram grant dated A.D. 1408-09 clearly states that Kumāragiri-Redḍi bestowed on Kātaya-Vēma the Eastern kingdom with Rājamahēndranagara as its headquarters.⁵ It is obvious that the lower Gōdāvarī valley was under the control of Kumāragiri at the time of his death which took place in or about A.D. 1404. Moreover, in the Anaparti grant dated A.D. 1390, it is said that the east coast up to Simhādri (*i.e.*, Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District) acknowledged Kumāragiri's rule; and that he, being desirous of bequeathing to his young son, Anavōta II, a larger kingdom than he possessed, planned the conquest of fresh territories extending to the east of that hill.⁶ Secondly Vēdagiri I, the Velama king of Dēvarakōṇḍa in Telingāṇa (Nalgonda District of the Hyderabad State), a contemporary of Kumāragiri, is said to have offered protection to Annadēva.⁷ It follows from these facts that Annadēva was living abroad owing to the occupation of his territories by the Redḍi kings.

The circumstances which led to the displacement of Annadēva may now be envisaged briefly. Anavēma who seized the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu on the death of his elder brother, planned an expedition against the rebels in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, and brought them soon under control. According to the Śrīśailam epigraph cited above, Anavēma "demolished the *jala-durga* of Divi (Kistna District) and captured all the *jala-durgas* at the confluence of the Gautamī (*i.e.*, Gōdāvarī) and the sea, broke open the *sthala-durgas* of Rājamahēndra, Niravadyanagara (Nidadavole in the West Godavari District) and others; and planted pillars proclaiming his glory at the foot of the Simhāchalam and the Vindhya".⁸ Anavēma seems to have made use of force as well as diplomacy in re-establishing his authority. He crippled the strength of the Telugu Chōḍas who were a formidable obstacle in his path, by creating dissensions among the members

¹ *Mac. Mss.* 15-4-4, pp. 231 ff. The epigraph in question is said to have been engraved on a slab lying outside the postern (*diḍḍi gummam*) gate of the fort of Rajahmundry. Its present whereabouts are not known.

² No. 254 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ No. 421 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 7, 155; above, Vol. IV, pp. 328-9.

⁵ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 210.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4.

⁷ The *Velugōḍivāri-vaṁśāvali*, 122.

⁸ No. 20 of 1915: *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1915, part ii, para. 59.

of the family. Bhaktirāja was probably dead by this time; and differences seem to have arisen between his sons regarding succession. Taking advantage of this, Anavēma entered into an alliance with his son Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga, and secured his support and loyalty permanently by bestowing on him the hand of his daughter in marriage.¹ Annadēva must have felt helpless against this combination, and sought refuge in his ancestral estate of Ēruva, where he seems to have kept up a precarious existence up to 1388 A.D. The expansion of the Vijayanagara kingdom towards the east seems to have ousted him even from this place of refuge, and he became a wanderer seeking his fortunes in the courts of the Deccan. This accounts for the inveterate hostility which he displayed in later life towards the Redḍis and their allies, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.

3. The first achievement of Annadēva that is described in these plates is the assistance which he rendered to the Turushka king in **defeating the king of the Karṇāṭa at Sagara**. This statement clearly indicates that Annadēva entered into an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultan. The Karṇāṭa army that is mentioned in the inscription is the army of Vijayanagara; and Sagara is a city of that name on the northern bank of the Krishnā in the Gulburga District of the Nizam's Dominions. It stood on the frontier between Gulburga and Vijayanagara, and constantly figured in the wars between the two kingdoms. It follows from this that the Turushka king who was engaged in fighting with the Karṇāṭaka army was the Bahmanī Sultan. Now between A.D. 1388, the date of Annadēva's Tripurāntakam record, and A.D. 1416 when he appears to have died,²

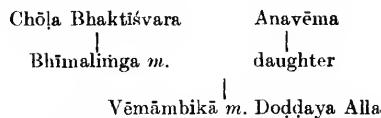
¹ The marriage of Bhīmaliṅga with the daughter of king Anavēma is referred to by contemporary Telugu writers. According to Niśśaṅku Kommana, Allāḍa married Vēmāmbikā, the daughter of Bhīmaliṅga who was the son of Chōḷa-Bhaktiśvara :—

*Ma : Bharita-śrīnidhi-yam-mahīramanuḍ=oppeṇ=Jōḷa-Bhakti-kshiti-
svara-sūnuṁḍ-āgu Bhīmaliṅga-manujēśa-śrēshṭhu sat-putri bhā-
svara-kārunya-daśā-jan-āvana-vidhā-samdhātri Vēmāmbikan
variṅiṅchen=bati-bhakti-gaurava-driḍha-vyāpāra-nity-āmbikan ||*

(Śivalīlāvilāsam, canto 1.) Śrīnātha states that Vēmāmbikā was a grand-daughter (i.e., daughter's daughter) of king Anavēma of Koṇḍavīḍu :—

*Ma : Anavēma-kshiti-pālu-pautri-yagu-Vēmāmbā-Mahādēvikiṅ
ghanuḍ=āgy-Allāḍa-bhūmi-pālunaku saṅgrāma-sthali-gāṁḍivul
tanayul=Vēma-vibhūṇḍu Vīra-vasudh-ādhyakshuṇḍu Doḍḍa-prabhūm-
ḍununu=Annayayyu bāhu-vikrama-kaḷ-āḍōpa-pratāp-ōddhatul || (Kāśikhāṇḍamu, canto 1, v. 32).*

It is obvious that Vēmāmbā's parents were Bhīmaliṅga, the son of Chōḷa Bhaktiśvara and an unnamed daughter of king Anavēma.



² An epigraph (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 113) at Palivela dated January A.D. 1417 states that Doḍḍama-Redḍi Allāḍa destroyed the family of Kāṭaya-Vēma's enemy completely and restored the kingdom to his children. These were Kāṭaya-Vēma's son Kumārāgiri who succeeded him on the throne of Rajahmundry, and daughter Anitalli who married Virābhadrā-Redḍi, the second son of Allāḍa (*Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. II, p. 108). Now, the present grant makes it quite clear that Annadēva was fighting with Kāṭaya-Vēma's family about A.D. 1416. So far as we are aware, the only enemy of Kāṭaya-Vēma who having displaced the latter's children occupied their kingdom was Annadēva. Therefore, the enemy of Kāṭaya-Vēma whom Allāḍa-Redḍi destroyed with the whole of his family before January A.D. 1417 in order to restore Kāṭaya-Vēma's children to their paternal kingdom must have been none other than Annadēva. Any doubt that may still linger in our minds is completely set at rest by the poet Śrīnātha who flourished at the court of Vēma and Virābhadrā, sons of Allāḍa-Redḍi. He states that Allāḍa destroyed the overweening pride of Virābhadrā and Annadēva of the Solar family :

Bhānumat-kula-Virābhadr-Annadēv-ādi-garva-saṅgrāmbhaṁbu-gāku chēsi (Bhīmēśvara-pūrāṇam, 1 : 62).

It is therefore certain that Allāḍa-Redḍi came into conflict with Annadēva-Chōḷa and his son Virābhadrā and killed them before January 1417 A.D.

there was one major conflict between the Bahmanī Sultan and the king of Vijayanagara in which the city of Sagara played an important part. Fīrūz Khān and Ahmad Khān, the nephews of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, rose up in revolt in 800 A.H. (A.D. 1397) against the latter's son Shams-ud-dīn in Sagar. Though defeated in war and reconciled ostensibly to the Sultan, who again received them into favour, they did not give up their designs upon the throne, and treacherously seized it on the 14th February, A.D. 1397.¹ Fīrūz Khān ascended the throne and assumed the title of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī. The Hindu chiefs who held estates from the Bahmanī Sultan in the neighbourhood of Sagar revolted immediately as a protest against Fīrūz Shāh's usurpation. Though the Bahmanī historians do not explicitly mention this rebellion, they refer to an invasion of Dēvarāya of Vijayanagara and the suppression of the Hindu rebels at Sagar by Fīrūz Shāh. According to Firishhta, Dēvarāya invaded the territories of the Raichūr Doab in 801 A.H. with the object of capturing the forts of Mudkal and Raichūr, but Fīrūz Shāh moved towards Sagar to frustrate his attempt. "After this", says he, "he put to death a Zemindar, with seven or eight thousand Hindoos, who had long been very refractory".² Sayyid 'Āli more definitely alludes to a rebellion of the Hindu chiefs. According to him, Fīrūz Shāh declared a *jihād* on Vijayanagara in 802 A.H. (A.D. 1399) and "marched towards Sagar. When the chiefs of that district heard of the Sultan's approach, they tendered their submission, and paid the revenue of the country into the royal treasury, and so remained secure from attack by the army."³ It is evident that about A.D. 1398-99 there was a Hindu rebellion in the district of Sagar against the Bahmanī Sultan; and the rebels actually took possession of the fort. Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad declares that the first action of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh, after his accession to the throne, was an attack upon the fort of Sagar where some rebels who had taken possession of it had defied his authority.⁴ But the Sultan declared war upon the king of Vijayanagara, even before he marched to put down the rebels. Very probably the rebels secured help from the king of Vijayanagara, and placed the stronghold of Sagar in his hands; otherwise, there could have been no battle at Sagar, as stated in this inscription between the forces of the Bahmanī Sultan and the Karnāṭaka army. Another fact which seems to throw some light on this problem may be mentioned here. In the *Tāladīpikā* of Sālūva Gōpa-Tippa, one of the *tālas* is called 'Sagaradurggādivipāṭaḥ', i.e., 'he who first broke into the fort of Sagar'. This is, indeed, a curious name for a *tāla*; but Tippa states in explanation of the name that the *dēśya-tālas*, forty-one in number, were named by him after his titles.⁵ Therefore, Sālūva Gōpa-Tippa had the title of 'Sagaradurggādivipāṭaḥ'. Much is not known of Tippa's military activities, and the Sālūva inscriptions so far as they are known do not allude to the capture of Sagara by Tippa or his immediate ancestors. Probably like the names of other *tālas*, 'Samburāyasthāpakāḥ', 'Dakṣhiṇasuratrāṇavipāṭaḥ', the 'Sagaradurggādivipāṭaḥ' was also called after one of his ancestral titles. In that case, it alludes to the capture of Sagara (Sagar) by one of the early chiefs of the Sālūva family in the service of the king of Vijayanagara. As there is no other known earlier instance of a Vijayanagara attack on the fort, the title perhaps had its origin in the capture of Sagar about this time.

¹ *Burhan-i-Ma'āşir* (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 185); Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 359-60.

² Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 370.

³ *Burhān-i-Ma'āşir* (Ind., Ant. Vol. XXVIII, p. 186).

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), iii, p. 13.

و چرن در قلعه سگر بعضی مردان متحصن شده بودند - اولاً بگو شمال آن گروه متوجه شد -

⁵ Mysore Or. Mss. Library, No. 3809, 10th fol. f. I am obliged to Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi for extracting for my use this portion from his own copy of the *Tāladīpikā*.

Annadēva evidently joined Fīrūz Shāh in his expedition against the fort of Sagar in A.D. 1398-9 and helped him to defeat the Karṇāṭakas and regain the fort. The help which he rendered to Fīrūz Shāh could not have been substantial. As a prince living in exile, he could not have had a large following. Fīrūz Shāh was an ambitious king. He had designs on Teliṅgāṇa and the rich deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. A pretender to the sovereignty of this region would be a pliable tool in his hands, and could be used to his advantage when occasion arose. Moreover, it was desirable to secure an ally who might embarrass the king of Vijayanagara on the east coast in the event of a war in which he might become involved. These considerations prompted Fīrūz Shāh to enter into an alliance with Annadēva and associate him in his war with the Karṇāṭakas.

The **second achievement** attributed to Annadēva is the **conquest of Jaggavāga**, and other enemy cities. Though at the present state of knowledge the identification of these cities and the enemies to whom they belonged is not possible, the capture of these cities seems to indicate Annadēva's return from Gulburga. An inscription in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāmam¹ clearly shows that Annadēva had not only returned to his native country before July 1404 A.D., but had managed to regain the power which he had lost some years earlier.² As Drākshārāmam is in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry which at this time served the Redḍis as the capital of their northern possessions, it is impossible that Annadēva could have gained a footing in this region without coming into conflict with them, specially with Kāṭaya-Vēma, who was then ruling over this part of the Redḍi kingdom.³ The absence of Kāṭaya-Vēma's inscriptions during the early years of his reign (A.D. 1404-07) in Rajahmundry and its neighbourhood seems to suggest that very probably he had temporarily lost control over his capital immediately after the death of his brother-in-law and sovereign, Kumāragiri-Redḍi in A.D. 1403 though he appears to have recaptured it before A.D. 1408.⁴ The titles, '*Rājādhirāja*,' and '*Pūrvāsīmāhanādhiśvara*' which Annadēva assumed about this time⁵ were probably meant to proclaim his own sovereignty and the triumph which he won over his Redḍi adversaries. The circumstances which facilitated Annadēva's return from Gulburga, and the re-establishment of his authority in the Gōdāvarī delta must be explained here, in order to present the facts enumerated in the inscription under consideration in their true perspective. Anavēma died probably in A.D. 1381 and his nephew Kumāragiri-Redḍi succeeded him on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu. Kumāragiri's accession was not, however, peaceful and uncontested. The Tottaramūḍi plates which declare that his brother-in-law, 'the powerful Kāṭaya-Vēma placed him on the throne and protected him even as Śrīkrishṇa protected Yudhisṭhira', allude covertly to some opposition which Kāṭaya-Vēma had to overcome before he placed Kumāragiri on the throne, and to the sovereign powers which he exercised on his behalf after his accession. It is evident that Kumāragiri left the onerous task of governing the kingdom to his powerful brother-in-law, and contented

¹ S. I. I., Vol. IV, 1347.

² My reasons for thinking so are : (1) No trace of him is found before this date in the region of the Gōdāvarī; (2) Anavēma and Kumāragiri-Redḍi were in actual possession of this region from A.D. 1371 to 1403; and (3) the Velama king Peḍa-Vēdagiri is said to have offered protection to Annadēva '*Ala-Chōḍa-Bhaktīndru Anadēvarājumu bemp-āra-gāche*' (The *Velugōtivarī-vamśāvalī*, p. 122).

The word *kāchu* implies some danger which threatened Annadēva; (4) Annadēva was, after all, a petty chief as yet unknown to fame. It is not likely that his greatness reached the Bahmanī court and induced Fīrūz Shāh to court alliance with him. Judging in the light of these facts, it appears to me that Annadēva who was at Dēvarakonda joined the Velamas who were the friends of Fīrūz Shāh and helped the latter to take Sagar.

³ *Mac. Mss.*, 15. 4. 4, p. 233.

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 213.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. IV, 1347.

himself with the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.¹ When his only son, Prince Virāṇnavōta, died a premature death some time after A.D. 1390, Kumāragiri, who was left without any heir except his distant cousins, resolved to reward his brother-in-law for the valuable services rendered by him. Therefore, he conferred on Kāṭaya-Vēma the eastern territories with Rajahmundry as its capital, and left the remaining part of the kingdom to one of his cousins who might be successful in seizing his throne. Accordingly, on his death, the Redḍi territories which had hitherto remained under the authority of a single monarch were divided into two kingdoms, practically hostile to each other. Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, who succeeded him on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu, did not naturally acquiesce in the division of the kingdom effected by Kumāragiri and was inclined to question the right of Kāṭaya-Vēma to rule at Rajahmundry.

Another factor which contributed to the removal of the obstacles from the path of Annadēva was the confusion that arose in the kingdom of Vijayanagara, consequent upon the illness which afflicted Harihara II in A.D. 1403. His three sons Bukka II, Virūpāksha I, and Dēvarāya I repaired from their respective provinces to the capital, and were each busy in concerting measures to seize the throne.² The death of Harihara II in A.D. 1404 was the signal for the outbreak of a civil war which racked the kingdom for two years. Kāṭaya-Vēma who expected help from Vijayanagara, owing to his political and family alliance with Harihara II, could hope for little or no assistance from his ally under the circumstances.³ It was at this juncture that Annadēva considered it expedient to return to his native country, and make an effort to recover his patrimony. There is reason to believe that his restoration was partly due to a Velama invasion of the Rajahmundry kingdom. Rāvu-Siṅga II, the ruler of Warangal and Rāchakoṇḍa, invaded, probably at the instance of Sultan Firūz Shāh Bahmanī, the Gōḍavari delta and overran the country as far as the frontiers of Orissa.⁴ His cousin, Peda Vēdagiri, the chief of Dēvarakoṇḍa who formerly gave asylum to Annadēva, co-operated with him in the enterprise, and destroyed, according to the *Velugōtivarī-vamśāvalī*, the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi (Tuni division of the East Godavari District) which belonged to Kāṭaya-Vēma.⁵ These statements are corroborated by the evidence of a few inscriptions of Peda-Vēdagiri's officers at Simhāchalam and Śrikūrmam, both of which were included in the dominions of Kāṭaya-Vēma.⁶ One of these records registers the gift of 10 *gaṇḍa-māḍas* to the temple of Śrikūrmam by Pina Māda-Nāyaḍu, son of Siṅgama-Nāyaḍu, a younger brother of Rēcherla Sūrā-Nāyaḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa in A.D. 1405.⁷ The

¹ *Līlā-grihān=kanaka-ratna-chayair=anēkān prāsādam=unnata-bikhair=Grīharāja-samjñam | krīḍā-sarāmsi cha vidhāya Vasāntarāyaḥ kēṭi-radhānasi (?) sah=āramata priyābhīḥ ||* The Komaragirivaram Grant (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 209-10).

² *Local Records*, XXII, p. 166.

³ The marriage between Kāṭaya-Vēma's son, Kāṭa-Prabhu, and Harihara's daughter is mentioned in the Vēmaṅṅam grant (above, Vol. XIII, p. 242).

⁴ *Sōm (Snēh ?)=Śīlāsini Pāraśika-nṛipalau sandh-ānu-sāindhāya(na ?)kaiḥ kanyaratna-samarpaṇāt Gajapalau sambandha-gandhasprīsi | Rēcherl-ānvaya-śārṅgiṇam narapatim drashtum ranē śāhasam sambhāvyam sa (na ?) hi Gautamī-parisara-kshudra-kshamābhīd-gaṇē ||* (Viśvēśvara, *Chamatkāra-chandrikā*—Madras Government Or. Mss. Lib., R. No. 2679, p. 114).

⁵ See Introduction to Kāṭaya-Vēma's Commentary on Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalam*.

⁶ Kāṭaya-Vēma conquered the country between Simhāchalam and the Vindhya between A.D. 1385 and 1390. This is brought out by the following passage in the Anaparti grant :

Tasmāt-Simhādri-paryanta-prācya ēva mahīśvarāḥ |

Jēlavayās-tan-mahīpālān-adhunā jaya-līlayā ||

Tatō Vindhyaḍri-Simhādri-madhyavarti-mahīśvarān |

Jīvā tad-dēśa-durgēshu niyujya sv-ādīkāriṇaḥ || J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, p. 204 (vv. 27 and 35).

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1242.

identity of the Sūrā-Nāyaḍu mentioned in this record is disclosed by another at Simbāchalam dated A.D. 1407.¹ He was the Pradhāni or the Minister of (Peda) Vēdagiri-Nāyaḍu of Dēvarakonda. It follows from this that the Velamas who invaded the kingdom of Rajahmundry about A.D. 1404 remained in the eastern districts for three or four years. As Annadēva was a *protégé* of Peda-Vēdagiri, and as the Velama invasion roughly coincided with Annadēva's return to his native country, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Velama invasion was undertaken to reinstate the latter in his ancestral estates.

What happened in the Gōdāvari delta in the years that immediately followed Annadēva's return is not known. A study of the Redḍi inscriptions of this period, however, leads to the conclusion that the successors of Kumāragiri had completely lost control over the coastal region between the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvari. Whereas the inscriptions of Kumāragiri are found in this region as in the other parts of the Redḍi kingdom, no inscription of his successors—neither of Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma nor of Kāṭaya-Vēma,—has been so far discovered. The inscriptions of the early years of Kāṭaya-Vēma's reign are not found anywhere to the west of Piṭhāpuram and Peddāpuram; and none of Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma is found on the north of the Kṛishṇā. A part of this region, if not the whole of it, probably passed into the hands of Annadēva.

Kāṭaya-Vēma was thus hemmed in between two enemies during these years. On the east were the Velamas in the neighbourhood of Simbāchalam, and on the west was Annadēva in the neighbourhood of his capital. Kāṭaya-Vēma must have been driven out of his capital and maintained a precarious hold on the Piṭhāpuram-*em*-Peddāpuram region, biding his time to dislodge his enemy. He perceived, at last, a chance of obtaining help from Vijayanagara. Dēvarāya I who emerged successfully out of a civil war ascended the throne in A.D. 1406; but he had to face a simultaneous attack delivered by two of his neighbours. Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma who could not reconcile himself to the loss of the districts of Addanki and Śrīśailam despatched an expedition into the Udayagiri-rājya and occupied a large part of the present Cuddapah District.² At the same time, Firūz Shāh attacked Vijayanagara from the north.³ Dēvarāya, however, successfully withstood these attacks, and within the course of the next three or four years consolidated his position in the kingdom. It was at this time that Kāṭaya-Vēma set out for Vijayanagara and reached Ahōbalam in the Kurnool District about the end of A.D. 1410.⁴ It is not known whether he actually proceeded to Vijayanagara to solicit help from Dēvarāya. Taking into consideration the serious situation in which Kāṭaya-Vēma was involved, it is difficult to believe that his visit to Ahōbalam in the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom was not actuated by political motives. The presence of the Vijayanagara armies on the banks of the Gōdāvari fighting against Annadēva during the succeeding years, as mentioned in the inscription under review, clearly shows that Vēma succeeded, whether he actually met Dēvarāya or not, in obtaining help.

Now this brief narrative of the political developments in the kingdom of Rajahmundry furnishes the clue for a clear understanding of the events mentioned in this inscription. Kāṭaya-Vēma seems to have abandoned the caution which characterised his early actions, some time after his return from Vijayanagara and embarked on a policy of aggression. Though he still maintained his hold on the eastern bank of the river, his enemy was in possession of the opposite bank.⁵ It was necessary that he should control both the banks of the river to ensure the safety

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1100.

² *Local Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

³ Briggs : *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 383.

⁴ No. 84 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Two epigraphs, one at Pōlavaram on the west bank of the Gōdāvari (No. 1293 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) and another at Pālakōl in the Narsapur tāluk of the West Godavari District (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 145) dated A.D. 1408 and A.D. 1413 respectively show that Annadēva was the master of the western bank.

of his dominion, and free himself from the ever-present threat of attack. The conquest of the district of Attili (Taṇuku division, W. Godavari District) and the capture of that town and the fort by the southern kings referred to in the present inscription, point out clearly that Vēma launched an attack upon his enemy's territory.¹ The number and identity of the southern kings are not known, though it may be confidently asserted that the tributary princes and the nobles of Vijayanagara were certainly among them. Annadēva was not disposed to allow this affront to his authority to pass unavenged. Having quickly gathered together his friends and followers, he marched at their head to chastise the invaders. He came upon the army of Kāṭaya-Vēma's southern allies in the vicinity of Attili, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. A large body of the enemy's forces numbering 10,000 men who were stationed in the fort of Attili were compelled as a consequence of defeat to surrender to him.

While Annadēva was engaged in taking possession of the fort of Attili, one of his friends who is unfortunately not mentioned by name in the inscription, came into conflict with a contingent of the Vijayanagara (*Kannāḍa*) army at Kāṇkaraparti on the Gautamī (i.e. the Gōḍāvarī). Confronted with a superior force, he was unable to cope with the situation, and stood in grave peril of destruction. Intelligence of the sad plight of his friend having reached Annadēva, he hastened with his troops to rescue his friend. As soon as he arrived at Kāṇkaraparti, he lost no time in engaging himself in action. Led by his brother-in-law, Pina-Uṇḍirāja, his army fell upon the Kārṇāṭakas and hacked them to pieces. It was an overwhelming disaster to Kāṭaya-Vēma's side, his allies were nearly annihilated and his family had to surrender to his enemy, abjectly begging him to spare their lives.

Two points demand explanation here. (a) It is said that Annadēva rescued some friend who was assailed by the Kārṇāṭakas at Kāṇkaraparti. The inscription gives no help to establish his identity. A passage from *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, however, seems to throw some light on the problem. Describing the events during the last years of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, Sayyid 'Ali states that the Sultan led an army into Telingāna and subjugated the country as far as Rajahnundry.

"The Sultan", says he, "being determined to conquer Telingāna proceeded in that direction till having got near Rajahnundry he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken the whole of that territory he consigned it to the agents of government, and then set out for his capital".² Sayyid 'Ali does not give the date of this expedition; but he mentions a number of events which had taken place before and after the dispatch of the expedition. However, a comparison with Ferishta's account of these events, may enable us to determine

¹ Though the identity of the southern kings is not disclosed in the inscription, it is not difficult to conjecture who they were. In the south, more strictly south-west, of Annadēva's dominions were the kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu and Vijayanagara. It is not likely that they should have joined together to attack Annadēva; for, in the first place, the relations between Koṇḍaviḍu and Vijayanagara were anything but friendly at this time; and secondly Pedakōmati-Vēma, the king of Koṇḍaviḍu, who was hostile to Kāṭaya-Vēma would not have helped him or his family by making an attack upon Annadēva. The king of Vijayanagara was related to Kāṭaya-Vēma, as pointed out already, by marriage alliance. At Sagar the former encountered at first Annadēva as an ally of the Bahmanī Sultan; and then according to the present record he was fighting with the latter at Kāṇkaraparti on the Gōḍāvarī as an opponent. Moreover, according to Śrīnātha's *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, 1: 62 (above Vol. XIII, p. 241), the king of Kārṇāṭa was an ally of Allāḍa who restored Kāṭaya-Vēma's children to their kingdom. Taking into consideration all these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that one of the southern kings referred to in the present record was the king of Kārṇāṭaka and that he came there with his forces to help Kāṭaya-Vēma and his family.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 187.

roughly the time when the expedition was undertaken. The facts mentioned by both the historians are given in the following schedule, for the purposes of comparison :

<i>Sayyid 'Ali</i>	<i>Ferishta.</i>
(1) Fīrūz Shāh's second war with Vijayanagara ; and his capture of Bhānūr and Musalkal.	<i>Nil.</i>
(2) One year after this, he invaded Māhūr and made peace with the Rāya.	The Sultan invaded Gondvana i.e. Māhūr in 815 A.H.
(3) Hushyār and Bēdār rose to prominence	<i>Nil.</i>
(4) Death of Khwāja-i-Jahān, the prime minister of the Sultan	<i>Nil.</i>
(5) The invasion of Telingāṇa as far as Rajahmundry, and the conquest of the country	<i>Nil.</i>
(6) The siege of Pāngal	The siege of Nalkoṇḍa-Pāngal in 820 A.H.

It is obvious that Fīrūz Shāh's expedition to Rajahmundry took place between 815 A.H. and 820 A.H.

Another fact which seems to have some bearing on the subject must be taken into consideration here. Notwithstanding the uniform success which attended his arms, and the comparative ease with which he subjugated the country, Fīrūz Shāh is said to have returned to his capital without making an attempt to capture Rajahmundry, although he marched victoriously to the neighbourhood of the city. The reason for his failure to take advantage of the opportunity to capture the city is not quite apparent. Rajahmundry was an important stronghold in the lower valley of the Gōdāvarī, and it was the seat of a flourishing Hindu kingdom. The temptation to plunder the city, if not actually to take possession of it, must have been too strong for an orthodox and ambitious Muhammadan king like Fīrūz Shāh to overcome. Therefore, the return of the Sultan without even making an attempt to invest the city must be attributed to some obstacle which compelled him to turn back and hasten homewards.

A few incidental remarks thrown out by the Muslim historians, while describing the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa by Fīrūz Shāh in the middle of 820 A. H. (August, A.D. 1417), seem to suggest that the Sultan was compelled to return by the arrival of a fresh Vijayanagara army in the east. *Firishta* states that in the middle of the year 820 A. H., the Sultan made an attack on Pāngal commonly known as Nalkoṇḍa in his day, a fort which stood at a distance of eighty farsangs or two hundred and forty miles from Ādōni on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra.¹ The authenticity

¹ Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 389-90. There are two forts named Pāngal in Telingāṇa. One of them stands, at a distance of about seventy miles to the east of Ādōni, in the Mahbubnagar District of Hyderabad State. This could not have been the Pāngal besieged by Fīrūz Shāh, as the distance between this fort and Ādōni is seventy miles and not two hundred and forty as stated by *Firishta*.

There is another Pāngal, adjoining the town of Nalkoṇḍa, the headquarters of the District of the same name in Hyderabad. In fact, Pāngal and Nalkoṇḍa are so near each other that they may be regarded as two different suburbs, as it were, of the same town. Moreover, the distance between this fort and Ādōni roughly agrees with that given by *Firishta*.

The name Bilkōṇḍa which is found both in Briggs' translation and the published Persian text (Naval Kishore Press) of *Firishta* is a corruption of Nalkoṇḍa, due to a scribal error commonly met with in Persian mss., lithographs, etc. Some scribe, either due to negligence or ignorance, shifted the dot indicating the phonetic value of the initial letter 'noon' (ن) from the top to the bottom, and changed it into 'be' (ب). Consequently,

Nalkoṇḍa (نالكونڈہ) was transformed into Bilkōṇḍa (بيلكونڈہ). In one of the mss. in the library of the Royal

Asiatic Society of Bengal the name of the fort is spelt as Malkoṇḍa :—

در واسطه سال مذکور قاصد تسخیر بانگل کہ درین وقت بہ ملکونڈہ شہرت دارد از قلعه ادونی نانجا ہشتاد فرسنگ است شدہ بانصوب لشکر کشید ۔

—Cat. of Arab. and Persian mss. in the Library of R. A. S. B. No. D 57 fol. 332A.

of Firishṭa's account is corroborated by the evidence of two inscriptions both dated July, A.D. 1417, at Vēdādri in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna District. They refer to the occupation of Vōḍapalli-Vazirābād and Śrīraṅgarājukoṇḍa (Vēdādri) on the banks of the Kṛishṇā in the eastern country by Sarakhu Maluka Jainādi Voḍaya (Sharq ? Malik Ziān-ud-dīn), an younger brother of Masnad-i-`Aly Ḥabīb Nizām-ul-Mulk, one of the favourite ministers of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh¹. As Vōḍapalli-Vazirābād, where Malik Ziān-ud-dīn was ruling in A.D. 1417, is situated at the junction of the Musi with the Kṛishṇā at a distance of about thirty miles in the south-east of Pāṅgal-Nalkoṇḍa, there is no scope for any doubt about the identity of the fort invested by the Sultan. The causes of this attack are not fully explained by the Muslim historians. From Firishṭa's account it would appear that it was an act of unprovoked aggression. "Without regarding his relationship to the Rāy of Beejanuggur", says he, "he marched and commenced the siege, which extended to two whole years."² Sayyid 'Alī asserts, on the contrary, that the Sultan was compelled to march against Vijayanagara, though he does not mention the circumstances which rendered the invasion obligatory.³ Khāfī Khān, however, states that Fīrūz Shāh's march upon Pāṅgal-Nalkoṇḍa was due to an invasion of his territories by the king of Vijayanagara. "At this time (i.e. after 818 A. H.)", says he, "the intelligence of the advance of Rāy of Bijānagar with numerous forces on the territories of Islam arrived. Sultan Fīrūz Shāh having gathered his troops marched in that direction personally to oppose him with the army and the materials of war."⁴ If the evidence of Sayyid 'Alī and Khāfī Khān could be relied upon, Fīrūz Shāh appears to have marched to the eastern Telingāṇa to ward off an attack of the king of Vijayanagara on his dominions in that region. Fīrūz Shāh was an ally, and, according to the Muḥammadan historians, the overlord, of the Velamas whose territory extended from Dēvarakoṇḍa and Rājukoṇḍa in the south to the Gōḍāvari in the north. Though this region did not properly form part of the Sultan's kingdom, it may be termed the territory of Islam (*bilād-i-Islām*), as its rulers, the Velamas, paid tribute and owed probably allegiance to him. It is not known when the fort of Pāṅgal-Nalkoṇḍa, which stands close to their principal capital Rājukoṇḍa, fell into the hands of the king of Vijayanagara. Probably Dēvarāya I seized it in the absence of the Velama forces, when they accompanied the Sultan during his expedition to the Gōḍāvari valley. The reduction of this fort, and the consequent submission of the dependent territory must have brought under the control of Dēvarāya an important strategic position which commanded the route along which his armies had to pass on their way to the east coast. If, on the other hand, the fort of Pāṅgal-Nalkoṇḍa had been in the possession of the king of Vijayanagara even earlier, the Bahmanī territory which he invaded at this time must have extended further eastwards into the coastal region which was recently conquered by the Sultan. In any case, the Vijayanagara attack on the possessions of Fīrūz Shāh in the east must have threatened the Sultan's rear, and compelled him to retreat from the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry abandoning his designs of further conquest.

However, the date of this invasion is not known. Khāfī Khān places it sometime after 818 A. H. (A.D. 1415-16).⁵ As the Vijayanagara invasion immediately preceded Fīrūz Shāh's

¹ Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. Sayyid 'Alī gives a brief account of Nizām-ul-Mulk and his colleague and friend 'Ain-ul-Mulk in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*.

"At this time (about 815 A. H.) two slaves named Hushyār and Bēdār who, by royal favours and rank, were distinguished above all courtiers, had various dignities conferred on them, and most of the important affairs of government and army were conducted according to their judgment and opinion. Bēdār was given the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk, and Hushyār that of 'Ain-ul-Mulk". (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII., p. 187).

² Briggs' *Ferishṭa*, Vol. II, p. 390.

³ *Burhan-i-Ma'āsir* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 188).

⁴ *Muntakhab-ul-Labab* (Bib. Ind.), iii, p. 63.

دریں آران خبر حرکت رائے بیجانگر بالشکر بے کوان طرف بلاد اسلام رسید - سلطان فیروز شاہ
مقابل اولشکر کشیده خون را مع فوج و مصالح محاربه به ان * سمت رسانید -

⁵ *Muntakhab-ul-Labab* (Bib. Ind.), iii, pp. 62-3.

attack on Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa in 820 A. H., it seems to have taken place probably in the previous year. Sayyid 'Alī, it may be remembered, describes Firūz Shāh's invasion of Telingāṇa immediately before his attack on Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, suggesting thereby that one preceded the other. Taking all these facts into consideration it seems reasonable to assign Firūz Shāh's expedition against the kingdom of Rajahmundry to the year 819 A. H. (1416-17 A.D.).¹ Now, this appears to be the time when Annadēva was waging war on Kāṭaya-Vēma and his allies in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry.² As Firūz Shāh was an old friend and ally of Annadēva, it is not unlikely that he came to assist the latter at his invitation. Since Firūz Shāh is said to have got near Rajahmundry and turned back without proceeding against the city, he was probably 'the friend' whom Annadēva rescued from the Karṇātakas on the battlefield of Kāmikaraparti.

(b) The other problem which stands in need of elucidation is the manner of Kāṭaya-Vēma's disappearance from the scene of his activities. Nothing is said about him in the present inscription though it speaks of the surrender of his family to Annadēva. It is certain that Vēma did not fall into the hands of Annadēva. Neither is it likely that he perished in a battle with Annadēva, nor being defeated by him could have taken to flight leaving his family at the tender mercies of his enemy; for, in either case, Annadēva would not have failed to include these facts in the list of his achievements given in the present charter. Therefore, the only reasonable alternative is to assume that Kāṭaya-Vēma died elsewhere under circumstances which are not known at present. Though nothing can be said definitely about the manner of his death, it is certain that the event itself had taken place between March and August 1416 A.D.; for, in the first place, he was still ruling at Rajahmundry according to an epigraph at Drākshārāmam dated March A.D. 1416.³ But another epigraph at Palivela dated in the month of January A.D. 1417 alludes to his death and the destruction of Kāṭaya-Vēma's enemy, evidently Annadēva, at the hands of Allāḍa;⁴ and a third epigraph dated August A.D. 1416 refers to the establishment of the power of Allāḍa in the kingdom.⁵ It follows from this that Kāṭaya-Vēma's death took place between March and August A.D. 1416. As Firūz Shāh led his troops as far as Rajahmundry in A.D. 1416, it is not unreasonable to believe that Vēma might have perished in the invasion while attempting to check the advance of the Muslim army.⁶

¹ Sayyid 'Alī places Firūz Shāh's expedition to Rajahmundry before his attack on Pāngal (Nalkoṇḍa). Firishṭa assigns the commencement of the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa to 820 A. H. Khāfi Khān places the Vijayanagara invasion of Bahmani dominions in the east (which in my opinion compelled Firūz Shāh to retreat from the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry) sometime after 818 A. H.

Assuming that the position taken up by me is correct, Firūz Shāh must have been in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry at the time of the Vijayanagara invasion. If the Vijayanagara invasion took place after 818 A.H. and the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa commenced in 820 A. H., Firūz Shāh's Rajahmundry expedition which, as I understand the situation, took place between these two dates, may be reasonably assigned to 819 A. H.

² Kāṭaya-Vēma was in Ahōbālam at the end of A.D. 1410. Hostilities between him and Annadēva must have commenced sometime after his return to his capital; it is not possible to determine the exact duration which elapsed between Vēma's return and the commencement of hostilities.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 330.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. V., No. 113; see note 2 on p. 29 above.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 133.

⁶ Tradition preserved in the family records and the *prasaṣti* of the Koppunūlla chiefs (*Mack. Mss.* 15. 4. 3, pp. 112-13) alludes to a battle in which a scion of the family, called Gajarow Tippa, defeated the army of Kāṭaya-Vēma at Guṇḍukolanu, a village in the Ellore taluk of West Godavari District. Moreover, the family *prasaṣti* embodies a *biruda*, viz., *Kāṭaya-Vēmoni-tala-goṇḍa-gaṇḍa* (the hero who took the head of Kāṭaya-Vēma) which points to Vēma's death at the hands of Gajarow Tippa or some other member of his family, probably at Guṇḍukolanu itself. If this tradition could be relied upon, Vēma appears to have died in a battle with the Velamas, to which community the Koppunūlla family belonged. Taking into consideration the time of Vēma's death as well as the friendly relations that subsisted between the Velamas and Firūz Shah, the Koppunūlla chiefs seem to have accompanied Firūz Shāh's army during the Telingāṇa invasion and killed Vēma at Guṇḍukolanu. In that case, the engagement at Guṇḍukolanu must have preceded that of Attili.

4. Besides the achievements of Annadēva and his father enumerated above, the plates under edition give also an account of their **religious beliefs** and pious benefactions. Annadēva and his father were both staunch Śaivas. Though the latter was originally named Kāmarāja by his parents, he acquired, on account of his excessive devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Śiva, the sobriquet Bhaktirāja, by which he was commonly known to his contemporaries (III, l. 8). Kāmapurī, his capital, appears to have been a strong Śaiva centre. The allusion to the sound of the bells echoing in the streets of the city from early dawn onwards suggests that the inhabitants were given more or less exclusively to the worship of the god of the place who was Śiva (III, ll. 18-19). Though the present charter does not mention any of Bhaktirāja's deeds of charity, information gleaned from other sources represents him as a patron of Śaiva divines and institutions. The Madras Museum Plates register his gift of the village of Kaṇḍavakolanu, probably identical with Kaḍavakolanu a small station on the M. S. M., N. E. line in the Guntur District, to the great ascetic Viśvēśvara or Viśvanātha of Śrīparvata.¹ And the Telugu poet Śrīnātha speaks of his grant of two villages Cheruvāḍa and Ātukūru to the shrine of god Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila.²

Annadēva seems to have inherited his love of the Śaiva creed from his father. He was a *Paramamāhēśvara*³ and most of his inscriptions record his benefactions to Śaiva shrines. Annadēva was accustomed to offer worship to Śiva six times a day, beginning with sun-rise (IV, l. 40); he added a *gōpura* of seven storeys (*sāpta-bhauma*) to the temple of Śiva probably at Mummaḍi-Prōlavaram (IV, ll. 43-44); gilded the temple of Virabhadra at Paṭṭesa and the *vimāna* of the shrine of Bhūmēśvara at Drākshārūma (IV, ll. 50-52); and granted several villages to god Viśvēśvara of Kāśī, the deity of his family.

Though Annadēva was an ardent devotee of Śiva, he was not a follower of the fanatical Vira-Śaiva sect which gained the enthusiastic support of a large number of people in his time. He was, as evidenced by the term *Paramamāhēśvara*, a member of the Pāśupata community⁴, the members of which notwithstanding their bias to Śiva, did not approve of the Vira-Śaiva tenets denouncing the Vēdas and the social system based on them. That accounts for the praise bestowed upon such deities as Vāṇī and Hari in the opening verses of this charter, and the liberal munificence of Annadēva to Brāhmins. Annadēva, in observance of a vow, as it were, fed daily a large number of Brāhmins—Śaiva as well as non-Śaiva, ascetics and *yōgins* (IV, ll. 40-41; ll. 45-46). He gave also to Brāhmins a thousand cows in the vicinity of the temple of Virabhadra at Paṭṭesa on the bank of the Gautamī, and supplemented it with the gifts, *Saptasāgara* and *Hiraṇya-mēru* (IV, ll. 47-49).⁵ In addition to these, he granted them two villages, **Uttama-gaṇḍa—Chōḍ-Annadēvavaram** in the district of Visiṇi situated at the junction of the Pinnaśāni and the Gaṅgā, and **Annadēvavaram** on the bank of the Gaṅgā to the west of Pallūri-Śailavaram. These benefactions show that Annadēva's deeds of charity to temples and Brāhmins were as numerous as his victories on the field of battle.

¹ J. O. R., Vol. V, p. 142.

² *Śivarātri-māhātmyamu*, 1 : 16.

³ S. I. I., Vol. IV, 1347.

⁴ See Bhandarkar : *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 119. [The title *Paramamāhēśvara* would only show that he was a Śaiva, and not necessarily of the Pāśupata sect.—Ed.]

⁵ The *Saptasāgara* is the fourteenth *mahādāna* in the list of the sixteen *mahādānas* described by Hēmādri. The ritual connected with the performance of this *dāna* may be briefly described thus : Brāhmins must be invited on an auspicious day and requested to perform the *pūṇyāvāchana* or purificatory ceremony. In a *mandapa* which is specially erected for the purpose, the images of some deities must be installed on a *vēdi* or platform. This must be followed by the performance of *vṛiddhīśrāddha*, or the *śrāddha* for ensuring prosperity.

5. *Annadēva's family* : Bhaktirāja had, as stated in an earlier context, two sons, Annadēva and Bhīma-Liṅga. The latter married a daughter of king Annavēma, and got by her a daughter called Vēmāmbā ; and she espoused Allāḍa and gave birth to four sons, Vēma, Vīrabhadra, Doḍḍa and Anna.

Annadēva married Irugāmbikā, the daughter of Chakravartī of the Solar race, and a sister of Pina-Uṇḍirāja who helped him to win the victory over the Kaṇṇātakas at Kāmkaṇapartī (III, l. 28, IV, ll. 29, 33-34). Pina-Uṇḍirāja and his father Chakravartī were probably related to Peda-Uṇḍirāja of the Solar race who granted the village of Rāvulapartī to Brāhmanas in Śaka 1304¹, though the exact connection between the two families is not definitely known. Annadēva had by Irugāmbā, a son called Vīrabhadra (IV, l. 30). Though no information is furnished by the present Plates about Vīrabhadra's activities, a line in Śrīnātha's *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam* suggests that he helped his father in fighting against his enemies and was consequently slain by Allāḍa.²

6. The **date** on which the Rajahmundry Museum Plates were issued is not known, owing to the loss of some plates belonging to the set. Nevertheless it is not impossible to discover the probable date when the gift was made. As the inscription describes the submission of Vēma's family to Annadēva, the gift must have been made after the occurrence of this event. We have already stated that Kāṭaya-Vēma died about the middle of A.D. 1416, and that his family submitted to Annadēva about the end of the same year. Now it is stated in an epigraph at Palivela dated 17th January A.D. 1417 that Doḍḍaya Alla, after the death of Kāṭaya-Vēma, destroyed 'the family of the latter's enemy' completely.³ The enemy referred to in this inscription, as pointed by Mr. V. Apparao in his article on the Rajahmundry Plates, was Annadēva.⁴ The defeat, if not the destruction, of Annadēva and his son Vīrabhadra is alluded to by the poet Śrīnātha in the introduction to his *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*.⁵ It follows from this that Annadēva did not long survive his victory. Therefore, the Rajahmundry Plates which he issued after Kāṭaya-Vēma's death must be assigned to the end of A.D. 1416.

Seven golden *kunḍas* (vessels) 21"×21" or 10"×10" in dimensions (height and width) and weighing from 7 to 1,000 *palas*, according to the means of the donor, must be secured. They should be placed first on sesamum and then on the skin of an antelope. Next, each of the seven pots should be filled with salt, milk, ghee, molasses, curds, sugar and water respectively to symbolise the seven oceans of the Hindu mythology : and the images in gold respectively of Brahman, Vishnu, Śiva, Sūrya, Indra, Lakshmi and Pārvatī, and gems and grains of different varieties must be added to them. Twenty-five Brāhmanas (8 *Ritviks*, 8 *dvārāpālakas*, 8 *japa-Brāhmaṇas* and 1 *guru*) have to be engaged, and *hōmas* for all the gods installed in the *mandapa* must be performed. When the *hōma* for Varuṇa is completed, the *yajamāna* has to bathe and go around the *vēdi* three times chanting *mantras*. On the second day the *hōma* has to be performed a thousand times ; and finally the *kunḍas* must be given away as a gift to the Brāhmanas. (Hēmādri, *Chaturvarga-chintāmani*, *Dānakhaṇḍa* (Bibl. Ind.), Ch. 5, pp. 337-339).

The *Suvarṇamēru* comes under *Mērudānas*. The representation of the Mēru mountain can be made in any kind of metal or grain. In case it is made of grain, it is called the *Dhānya-Mēru*. If it is *suvarṇa* or gold Mēru, the representation must have three ridges weighing three *palas*. When the representation of the Mēru is ready, worship is offered to it in the prescribed manner. And then on occasions like eclipses, it is presented as a gift to a Brāhman invited for the purpose. This *dāna* is given to propitiate the god Varāha, (Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-92.)

¹ *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1918, Part ii, p. 173.

² *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, l : 62.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 113.

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 179.

⁵ *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, l : 62.

7. The names of several territorial divisions, rivers, towns and villages are mentioned in this inscription.

I. Territorial divisions :—

(1) Attili-sīma ; (2) Visari-nāḍu.

II. Rivers :—

(1) The Gaṅgā, (2) the Gautamī, (3) the Pinnasāni.

III. Towns :—

(1) Attili, (2) Jaggavāga, (3) Kāmapurī, (4) Kāśī, (5) Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra, (6) Sagara, (7) Sūravarapaṭṭaṇa.

IV. Villages :—

(1) Bharanipāḍu, (2) Chōḍ-Ānnadēvavara, (3) Drākshārāma, (4) Gulapīnḍi, (5) Kāmkaṇa-parti, (6) Pallūri-Śailavara, (7) Pañchadhāra, (8) Paṭṭesa, (9) Pedakoṇḍa.

In addition to these, the name of a hill called the Gōmukhagiri with a temple dedicated to Gōmukhagiriśvara, evidently named after the hill on which the shrine was built, is also mentioned.

Some of these towns and villages have been already identified in the course of the preceding discussion. The rest are taken up here for consideration.

Attili-sīma was so called after Attili, which was evidently the headquarters of the district. Attili is at present situated in the south-west of the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. It stands at the junction of two roads on a canal named after it. The boundaries of the Attili-sīma are not known ; and it is not possible, in the absence of the necessary data, to demarcate even roughly the area included in the district.

The situation of **Visari-nāḍu** is not so easily ascertained. Visari-nāḍu figures in an epigraph belonging to the middle of the 13th century among the countries conquered by Ēruva-Bhīma, one of Annadēva's ancestors.¹ As Annadēvavaram, the object of the present grant included in this district, is said to have been situated at the junction of the Pinnasāni and the Gaṅgā (another well-known name of the Gōdāvarī), it is certain that Visari-nāḍu extended along the bank of the Gōdāvarī ; and as no tributary of the Gōdāvarī is known at present by the name of the Pinnasāni, and as no village of Chōḍ-Ānnadēvavaram or Annadēvavaram can be located on the bank of the river, the position of Visari-nāḍu cannot be defined exactly at present.

Of the **rivers** mentioned in the plates, **Gaṅgā**, as explained already, is another name by which the Gōdāvarī is frequently referred to in inscriptions as well as in literature. The poet Śrīnātha who was a contemporary of Annadēva states that the river Gaṅgā flowed touching the western wall of the city of Rajahmundry.² The **Gautamī** is also another well-known name of the Gōdāvarī. As Paṭṭesa, famous for its shrine of Virabhadra, is said to be on the bank of the river, it should be identified with the Akhaṇḍa-Gautamī, i.e., the Gautamī before it divides itself into the seven branches known collectively by the name of Sapta-Gōdāvaram. The identity of the Pinnasāni, which must have been a small stream flowing into the Gōdāvarī, is, as stated already, not known.

8. Of the **towns** mentioned in the record, **Attili**, **Kāmapurī**, **Sagara** and **Sūravararam** have been identified already. Nothing is known about Jaggavāga ; Kāśī is, of course, the famous city of Benares. The situation of Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra of which a glowing account is given in the present inscription cannot be ascertained definitely. Mr. V. Apparao identifies it with 'Mura-maṇḍa-Pōlavaram (probably the same as Murumaṇḍa in the Rajahmundry taluk of the East Godavari District)'.³

¹ No. 308 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection ; *Bhārati*, Vol. XV, p. 158.

² *Kāśikhāṇḍam*, I : 58.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

9. Of the villages mentioned in the charter **Gulapūṇḍi**, **Pañchadhāra** and **Pedakoṇḍa** have already been taken into consideration. Some of the remaining villages can be easily identified. **Drākshārāma** which is celebrated for its famous Śiva temple is still a place of some importance. It stands on the north bank of the Injaram canal in the Ramachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari District. **Kāmkaṛaparti** is identical with the modern village of Kākarapattu, on the west bank of the Gōdāvarī. It is at present included in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. **Paṭṭesam** stands on a picturesque island in the Gōdāvarī and is at present included in the Rajahmundry taluk. On a craggy hill, which was known in the days of Annadēva as the Gōmukhagiri, are the temples of Gōmukhagiriśvara and Virabhadra, whither large numbers of pilgrims still flock to attend the annual festival in the month of February.

The situation of the remaining three villages is not known. No village bearing the name of Bharanipāḍu seems to be in existence at present. There is, however, a village of the name of Bharinikam in the Anakapalle taluk of the Vizagapatam District. As Bhaktirāja was active in this region fighting with the Gajapati at Pañchadhāra, it is not impossible that Bharanipāḍu where he defeated king Singa should have been identical with Bharinikam.

While engaged in editing these plates, I received considerable assistance from several scholars. Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao kindly furnished me, at my request, with a set of impressions of these plates, taken afresh from the originals in the Rajahmundry Museum. The Epigraphist to the Government of India secured from the same scholar, for my use, the impressions of the Anaparti plates of Kumāragiri-Redḍi which are in his possession. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy (Madras), checked my transcript and helped me to determine the correct reading of the text in certain places. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi and Dr. V. Raghavan rendered invaluable help in the correction and interpretation of the text. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Messrs. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar and N. Lakshminarayan Rao revised the manuscripts of the introductory portion of this article and offered me several useful suggestions. I am grateful to these scholars and offer them my heart-felt thanks for their generous and ungrudging help.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ओङ्कारवन्निखिळ^१वाग्विभवस्य सृष्टेराद्या शरत्तुङ्गिनदौधितिचंद्रिकाभा [१*] सर्वेश्वरादिसक-
कामरवं-
- 2 दनिय्या^२ वाणी वराभयकरा भवतात् प्रसं(स)न्ना ॥ १[॥*] सा भारती निखिळवेद-
पुराणरूपवांग्वादिनी क-
- 3 मळसंभवमुख्यवद्या [१*] हंसावदातवपुरागममौळिमृग्या चिन्मावमूर्तिरवतादखिळ-
- 4 प्रपंचं(चम्) । [१२॥*] आनंदमूर्तिरखिळांतरमार्गवृत्तिरंभोरुहैकवनसंचरणोत्संती ।
आस्वादितेंदुवि-
- 5 गळन्मधुरासृतार्द्रा सा योगिवंद्यविभवा भवतात् प्रसं(स)न्ना । [१*] ३[॥*] दंताग्रकोटि-
दरदष्टधराधरस्य यस्यां^३

^१ Regarding the use of *la* for *la* attention is drawn to the remarks on orthography on p. 14. As such use is too frequent in the text no correction is made.

^२ Read 'वन्दनीया.

^३ The *anuvāra* is written in the next line.

- 6 गर्क निखिलवारिधयः प्रवृद्धाः¹ । स्वेदांबुबिंदुवदंचितसत्त्व(त्त्व)वृत्तेराभांत्यमौ किरितनुर्जरि-
 7 रस्तु भूत्यै ॥4²॥[*] यस्य त्रिलोकजननी जननी भवानी यस्यश्वरः स्त्रियजगतां
 जनको गिरीशः ॥[*] यस्य स्मृतिर्निखिळ[वि]-
 8 धृतमोविवस्वान् सोयं करींद्रवदनो जयतात्कमारः ॥[*] 5॥[1] हंमादि'गर्भविप-
 लैकपुरोपकंठप्रा-
 9 कारभूतमहितावधिपर्वताये । विश्वं प्रबोधयितुमुच्चलितो³ प्रदीपो देवाज्ञयव जयता-
 10 मिह पुष्पवंता ॥[*] 6 ॥[*] यां [म]स्तुर्वत्ति(ति) गिरिजां प्रकृतिं च मायां लक्ष्मीं
 गिरं सकलसृष्टिनिदानरूपां(पाम्) । दु-
 11 र्गा प्रचुड'महिषासुरमर्दनी सा भर्गकसृ विभवा भवतात्प्रसन्ना ॥[*]7॥[*] क्रीड-
 न्मुदा श्रुति'पुटांचिततिग्म-
 12 भानुशृङ्गावतंसपदलभितचंद्रविंशः । उद्दामशृंगरवपूरितपद्मजांडः त्रैलोक्ये दिशतु स-
 13 र्वशुभानि नित्यं(त्यम्) ॥[*] 21 ॥[*] गंगातरंगतनुशीकरतारकान्ति(भिः) संमव्यमानह्रिम-
 रश्मिकळ(का)किरीटं(टम्) । अक्षैंगकांतम-
 14 णिमादिगुणोल्लसंतमाराधयामि मनसा शिवमष्टमूर्त्ति(र्त्तिम्) ॥9॥[*] अध्यामितुः
 श्वशुरमंदिरप

Second Plate (lost).

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 1 लामरकामिनीभिः । युङ्गांगणा(णै) निहतवीरवरो(र)स्य कांता विष्णोरिवाब्धितनयाभ-
 वदन्नेमांवा ॥
 2 जातस्तयोरभवदेऽऽवभीमभूपस्त्रैलोक्यगीतविमळात्मयशःप्रतापः ॥[*] प्रोलांबिकाप-
 3 तिरनेककळाप्रवीणो भूलोककल्पतरुर्दुर्निवात्तिपेयः ॥ लक्ष्मीपत(ति)स्तदन् दाम-
 नृपालचं-
 4 द्रो जातस्तयोर्जगति विश्व(श्रु)तधर्ममूर्त्तिः । सूर्यांबिकापतिरभूदथ सोमभूपः क्षीरांबुध्रे-
 5 रिव ततो जगतामुपास्यः ॥[*] गंगाधरोजन(नि) तयोरिर्गुणांबिकायाः प्राणेश्वरः
 प्रथितमान-

¹ Read प्रवृद्धाः.

² The Telugu numeral figure 1 denoting the number of the plate, is inscribed just above the line.

³ Read यस्यश्वरस्त्रि.

⁴ Read हंमादि.

⁵ Read 'मुञ्चलितो.

⁶ Read प्रचुड.

⁷ Read श्रुति.

⁸ The numeral 21 is wrongly introduced for 8 here.

iv, a.

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iv, b.

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vii, a.

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- 6 धनो नृपालः । साक्षाद्गिरेशमिव यं विबुधाः^[*] स्तुवंति धर्मकमूर्त्तिमगिङ्गडगङ्ग-
कीर्ति(तिम्) ॥^[*]
- 7 गंगाधरादिरुगमाविकया ममतात्सोभाग्यशौर्यमहिताजनि कामराजः । यच्चद-
8 चूडचरणावुरुहैकभक्त्या भक्तौश्वराह्वयमगाङ्गवर्नष पश्चात् ॥^[*] प्रातं युवैव गु-
9 लपूडिपुरस्य शूरान् यो वोगरादियवनाधिपतीनजैषीत् । प्राच्यां च कीप्सुल-
पतिर्दिशि
- 10 येन पंचधारागणे गजपतिं जयताभ्यर्षचि ॥ शूराग्रणि(णी)भरणिपाटिपुरोसमीपे यः
शि(सि)ग-
- 11 भूतकपतिं कद[ने] व्यनैषीत् । यस्तजमा च पंड(ट)कांडपुरोसमीपे रत्नोबलान्
दबुरुखानु-
- 12 मुखानज(जै)षीत् ॥^[*] येनैव सूरवरपट्टनसंनिधाने वीरान्नवीतनृपतिर्विजितो विनो-
दात् । तस्याग्रहीत् कर-
- 13 सरोरुहमन्नेमांशा भक्तौश्वरा(र)स्य गिरिजैव शशांकमोक्षः ॥ भक्तौश्वरोयमथ निर्मित-
वानुदारामु-
- 14 जृ(जृ)भमाणविभवां पुरमात्मनाम्ना । या पुण्यशीलमनुजाश्रयणं जज(ज)गत्यां कल्याण-
नामक-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 15 मनिथ्य¹तरापराभृत् ॥ आंध्रावतंसमिह कामपुरी प्रमिद्धा विस्तारिसर्वविभवा
सुखतैक-
- 16 भूमिः । [जि]त्वासं²दनगरीं क्षपितात्मपुण्यामुजृ(जृ)भर्त सततसंचरदंन(दन्न)दाना ॥
हर्म्येषु य-
- 17 च निशि निर्भरकामतंत्रकांताकुचांतरगळ्मृगनाभिरणौ । नित्यं चरन्मिहगुरप्यभज-
त्कळंकिभा-
- 18 वं ध्रु(ध्रु)वं जयति कामपुरीयमुर्व्यां(व्याम्) ॥ यत्रानुवीथि विचरन्नरुणोदयादिवेकासु
सूचि-
- 19 तशिवाश्चनकर्मयज्ञः । घंटाखः श्रुति²पथेन मनः प्रविश्य तत्राप्यधं हरति कामपुरी-

¹ Read 'नैय.'°

² Read 'श्रुति.'°

- 20 यमोद्या ॥ यत्रांगे महितपुण्यफलैकगम्ये कस्तूरिकाद्यगणितार्थगणं निरीक्ष्य ।
विद्वद्गणो-
- 21 भवदनंतपदार्थवादी सर्वोपि सा जयति कामपुरी पृथिव्यां ।[*] भक्तेश्वरस्य
तनयो महि-
- 22 तोन्नदेव^१स्तस्याभवज्जगति जंगमपारिजातः [*] सौंदर्यसीमपरिभूतजयंतकी-
- 23 त्तिर्ल्लावण्यनिष्ठुतनवीनमृगांकमूर्तिः ॥ वैश्यांगनायितविरोधिधरातर्कंद्रो बाहुप्रताप-
- 24 विभवादनदेवभूपः । भूत्वा तुरुष्कनृपतेस्सगरे सहायः कर्नाटसैन्यमसिमात्रसखो
- 25 व्यनैषोत् ॥ उहंडवृत्तिविभवाच्चिपुरीमिवेशो यो जगन्नाममुखवैरिप(पु)राख्यजैषोत् । सं-
- 26 जीवनं सुरवरद्विजपुंगवानां जागर्त्ययं जगति चोडकुलान्नदि(दे)वः ॥ भाग्यीन(ग्योन्न)तः
सुकृत-
- 27 वान् सुरविप्रवर्यविश्वासविस्तृतसमस्तविभूतिभेदः । श्रीविश्वनाथचरणार्चनसक्त(क्त)भक्तिर्मृत्युं^२
- 28 जयो जयतु^३ चोडकुलान(लान्न)देवः ॥ श्रीचक्रवर्त्तितनयामिरुगांविकां यः सूर्यान्व-
वायसु-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 29 कृतैकफलं सुशीलां(लाम्) ॥ (1) पिनुंडिभूपसहजां ललनाललामभाग्योन्नतामुदवह-
[न्निरि]जामिवेशः ॥
- 30 श्रीवीरभद्रनृपतिर्भुवनैकवीरो यस्यात्मजत्वमगमद्रविम(वं)शदीपः । सोयं विनिर्जित-
समस्तवि-
- 31 रोधिभूपो जागर्त्ति चोडकुलमंडनमंन(मन्न)देवः ॥ येनैव भूविदितमत्तिलिसीन्नि
सर्वान्निर्जित्य दक्षि-
- 32 णदिगीश्वरवैरिभूपान् । तत्पट्टनावरणमध्यगताश्च नम्रास्सम्र(स्मर)क्षिता दशसहस्रमिता
विपक्षाः [*]

^१ Read 'गणितार्थः'.

^२ Read 'पदार्थः'.

^३ The Teiugu numeral figure 3 indicating the number of the plate is inscribed between the letters *dē* and *ni*.

^४ The *anusvāra* is inscribed at the beginning of the next line.

^५ The syllable *tu* is written below the line.

- 33 अध्वर्युभूतपिनयुंङिन्पेण येन श्रीगौतमी निकटकांक७७पत्तिवेद्यां । आलभ्य कंन-
(कन्न)डमुखा[रि]-
- 34 पशूनकारि वीराध्वरो निजसुहृत्परिरक्षणायै(य) ॥ पादांबुजप्रणतकाटयवेमवंशः¹ कीर्त्यै-
कवत्स-
- 35 लतया समरक्षि येन । सोयं विभाति शरणागतभूपरक्षादीक्षागुरुर्जयति चोडकु-
लान(लान्न)देवः ॥ यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीमनदेवभूपे सर्वोपसर्गारहिता मनुजास्त्र-
दैव । पूगेक्षुकान-
- 37 नतक्लेषु मुदा रमन्ते नित्ये(त्यो)त्सवो विजयतेयमुदारतेजाः ॥ यद्देश एव विततेक्षुवने
सुपक्षशाख्या-
- 38 दिसस्यभरिते सहकारसांद्रे । सर्वोपसर्गारहिते सुकृतैकगमै(स्ये) खेळन्ति नूनममरा
मनुजावता-
- 39 राः ॥ यद्देशमौळिमणिमुष्मुडिप्रोलवारं नानादिगागतमहावणिजां निवासं(सम्) ।
शंखाद्यनेकनिधि-
- 40 नित्यनिवासभूमिं स्मृत्वा भियेव धनदोभजदीशसख्यं(ख्यम्) ॥ षड्दालपूजितसदाशिव-
पादपद्मो नित्यां-
- 41 न(त्यान्न)दाननियमार्चितभूमिदेवः । गोरजकैतनसमर्पितगोसहस्रो विभ्राजते विमळवंश-
भवौन(वोन्न)दे-
- 42 वः ॥ नित्यं गिरीशचरणारूढोदयादिवेळ(ळा)सु षट्स्रपि मुदायुतसंख्यदीपैः ।
नौराजयन्विम-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 43 ऊचोडकुलान(लान्न)देवो जागर्ति राजपरमेश्वर एष भूम्यां(म्याम्) ॥ चामौकरव्यज-
नचामरकेतुमुक्ताच्छ-
- 44 [त्रां]कहेमललनांकितसप्तभौमं(मम्) । सौवर्णमिंदुमुकुटाय सम[र्प्य] कां[तां(तं)] सौधं]
समुल्ल-
- 45 सति चोडकुलान(लान्न)देवः ॥ माधुर्यमुख्यरसषड्विलासिमृष्टनित्यां(त्यान्न)दानविभवापह-
तक्षु[धा]र्ति । [शै]-

¹ The letter *va* in *vanśaś* is written above the line.

- 46 वज्रिजद्रजटियोगिकुलं प्रहृष्टं यत्पट्टेन विजयतामयमन(मन्)देवः ॥ श्रीगौतमीनिकट-
 47 पट्टेसवीरभद्रप्रांति द्विजद्रनिकराय गवां महस्रं(स्रम्) । दत्वा(त्वा)य तत्तृषमसौ मथितुं किष्कादाच्चो-
 48 डांन(डान्न)देववृत्तिर्जलधिं(धीं)श्च सप्त ॥ येनाखिष्कामपि धरां स सुराद्रिमुख्यामु-
 त्तप्तकांचनमया(यी)
 49 ददता द्विजभ्यः । भृमाचदः पटु जितः किष्क जामदग्न्यश्चोडांन(डान्न)देववृत्तिनायक
 एष भाति ॥
 50 येनैव¹ गोमुखगिरीश्वरवीरभद्रदेवालयो महितर्हममयः कृतोभूत् । श्रीकाशिकाधि-
 51 पतये कुलदेवतायै ग्रामाश्च विरूपतय² समदायि येन ॥ सौवर्णमात्मकुलशेखरचोड-
 वन्द्य[द्रा]-
 52 चादिरामपुरभीमयसौधशृंगं(गम्) । आश्रयलीमकुटरत्नमकारि येन चोडांन(डान्न)देव-
 धरणीतळनाय[केन] ॥
 53 येयं लसद्विसिंहीनादिसमाख्यदेशे चोडांन(डान्न)देववरमुत्तमगंडपूर्व(वर्म) । गंगातटे
 भुवनविश्रुत-³
 54 पिंन(पिन्न)सानिसंगेन(गङ्गा)देववृत्तिर्द्विजसादकर्षीत्⁴ ॥ पङ्कुरिशैलवरपश्चिमसीमि गंगा-
 तीरेन(रेडन)देववरना-
 55 ववह्रा⁵ग्रहारः । पुण्येन येन समदायि महाजनेभ्यश्चोडांन(डान्न)देवधरणीपतिरपि भाति ॥
 येनो-
 56 भयान्वयविनिर्मळविप्रवर्या विद्यीन(द्योन्न)ता विधिवदुद्दहनं प्रणीताः । सूर्यान्वह(वा)य-
 तिल्ल[केन च]

Fifth and Sixth Plates missing.

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

- 1 भारद्वाजकुलार्णवपूर्णसुधा(धा)रश्मिरवनिपतिमित्रं [1*] श्रीकूचनार्थतनयः शिं(सिं)गयना-
 2 मा द्विजेन्द्र इह भागी ॥29॥ [कां]हिन्य⁶गोत्राब्धिसुधामयूखः कीवूरिरामात्मज-
 रामचंद्रः । आ-
 3 चारवा⁷गामतत्व(त्व)दर्शी भागीह मृत्युंजयपादभक्तः ॥30॥ कौडिन्यगोत्रांबुजसूर्यते-

¹ The Telugu numeral figure 4 denoting the number of the plate preceded by a vertical stroke is inscribed here between the letters *va* and *g*.

² Read विश्वपतये.

³ Read द्विजसादकर्षीत्.

⁴ Read कौडिन्य.

⁵ Read °विश्रुत.

⁶ Read °नाममहा.

⁷ Read आचारवानागम.

- 4 जा[.] श्रीभास्कर[.] श्रीनृहरिस्तनूजः । सांगागमे संचितकीर्तिरत्र भागी सदाचा-
रवतां वरेण्यः [1*]31॥
- 5 श्री[का]चिभट्टतनयः काश्यपगोत्राब्धिपूर्णहिमरश्मिः । नागायणोत्र भागी ज्योतिः-
शास्त्रैकमर्म-
- 6 तत्व(च)ज्ञः [1*]32[1*] श्रीगूडपत्तिवल्लभतनयः श्रीयौभर्केन्द्रनामात्र । भागी
काश्यपगोत्रः पुण्यस्सन्मा-
- 7 र्गचंद्रमा विद्वान् ॥33॥ आत्रेयगोत्रतिलको वि[इ]यनामहिजातिवरसूनुः । यजुर्गण-
वचन्द्रयशा
- 8 वरदयनामात्र भागवान्विप्रः [1*]34[1*] श्रीरामादिमशिं(सिं)गयतन[यो] गंगाधरं-
द्रविप्रिंद्रः [1*]
- 9 कौडिन्यगोत्रपात्रं भागी यजुषां निधानमिह पुण्यः [1*]35[1*] श्रीगौरयविप्रेश्वर-¹
तनय[.] श्री-
- 10 [सिं]गनाह्वयो विद्वान् । भारद्वाजकुलांबुजभानुयशा भागवानत्र ॥36॥ आदिस्थावनि-
देवप्रि-
- 11 यतनयो हरितवंशपद्मार्कः । याजुषमणिरत्नाकरतेजाः पुरुषौ(षो)त्तमोत्र लब्धांशः
[1*]37[1*]
- 12 चिंणिपिकूचयभूसुरनंदनो हरितवंशमहार्णवचंद्रमाः । सकळशास्त्रय(र)हस्यविदं-
- 13 शवानिह हि तल्लयनाम सुधीश्वरः [1*]38[1*] कांडिन्यवंशार्णवचंद्रमूर्ति[.]*
श्रीयन(यन्न)मस्त्रासु-
- 14 रनंदनोत्र [1*] विश्वेश्वरो याजुषभाग्यदैवं लब्धांशवानत्र सतां वरेण्यः [1*]39[1*]
गोपाळभट्ट[1त्स]ज एष
- 15 पुण्यः श्रीयन(यन्न)माख्यो हरितान्ववायः । ज्योतिर्विदग्नेसरकीर्तिरत्र लब्धांशवानागमपार-
दृष्ट्वा [1*]40॥

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

- 16 मुंजपिंगाधरवरतनय[.]* कांडिन्यवंशवाध्वी'(ध्वी')दुः [1*] अन्नय[नामा भागी यजु]षां
निधिरत्र स-
- 17 सताचारः [1*]41[1*] श्रीभारद्वाजान्वयवल्लभधरणीसुरात्मजः पुण्यः । लक्ष्मणनामा
विप्रो वेदविद[द](विद)-

¹ The letter *ra* is inscribed below the line just under *śra* and *ta*.

² Read कौडिन्य.^०

- 18 चांशवान्धन्यः [1*]42[1*] सादपुलविबुधवरो वल्लभहृदयाजभातुमन्पुण्यः । कांडि¹न्य-
वंशतिल-
- 19 को भागी वेदैकमूर्तिरिह साधुः [1*]43[1*] श्रीमन्नागर्यावद्वत्तनयो निगमैक-
मूर्तिरिह भागी । दंडि-
- 20 गडनागनामा काश्यपगोत्राभिपूर्णिमाचंद्रः [1*]44[1*] श्रीराजुकीडमल्लयतनयः[1*]
श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनाख्या-
- 21 नः । काश्यपगोत्रपवित्रो भागी निखिलकागमैकतत्त्व(त्त्व)ज्ञः [1*]45[1*] मंडुगूरि² लक्ष-
नाख्यो मान्यो विदुषां समस्तश-
- 22 स्त्रज्ञः । भारद्वाजकुलार्णवचंद्रो भागीह वेदतत्त्व(त्त्व)ज्ञः [1*]46[1*] कोललपल्लिपुरा-
दिमंशिं(मिं)गयतनयो य-
- 23 जुर्निधिः पुण्यः । श्रीकृष्णद्विजनामा काश्यपगोत्रा(त्रो) गृहीतभागोत्र [1*]47[1*]
श्रीकंदकूरियौभक्तन-
- 24 यः[1*] श्रीरामनामात्र भागी [1*] याजुषमणिगणजलधिह(र्ह)रितान्वयावतंसयशाः
[1*]48[1*] श्रीकृष्णम-
- 25 व्यतनया³ यजुराकरबुद्धिरमितगुणकांतिः । श्रीमाननंतनामा भागी श्रीवल्लवंशवाधींदुः
[1*]49[1*]
- 26 श्रीभारद्वाजकुलो देवयधरणीसुरात्मजः पुण्यः । श्रीभक्तनामा भागी यजुरध्ययनैकशुद्ध-
बुद्धिरि-
- 27 ह [1*]50[1*] श्रीसर्वदेवतनयाय जनार्दनाय कांडिन्य⁴गोत्रतिलकाय महाजनेन्द्राः ।
ते सर्व एव स-
- 28 मुदीरितशासनाय स्वीयैकभागसदृशं व्यतरन्निहांशं(शम्) [1*]51[1*] भक्त्या कलज-
कोमलराजतनयेनात्र
- 29 प्रतिष्ठ(ष्टा)पितृश्रीकेदारमहेश्वराय महसे श्रीमाधवेन द्विजाः । सर्वे ते स्थिरभागमे-
कमदुराचंद्रार्कमा-
- 30 [तारकं]⁵ [आसा]दित् भोगभाग्यसुषमा[स्थै]र्याय कीतूहलात् [॥52॥*]

¹ Read कांडिन्य.^o

² Read मंडुगूरि.^o

³ Read तनयो. The Telugu numeral figure 7 denoting the number of the plate is inscribed at the beginning of the line.

⁴ Read कांडिन्य.^o

⁵ [I would read the portion as : -ā-chandr-ārkkam=ārkkāmśaj-ōrvvīśvar-(śēn=?) ōdita-ōga-bhāgya etc.—N. L. R.]

No. 3.—RAJIM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE NALA KING VILASATUNGA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR.

Rājīm is a well-known holy place, 23 miles south by east of Raipur, the head-quarters of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Mahānadi at the junction of the Pairi with that river. A fair is held there for a fortnight from the full-moon day of Māgha in honour of the god Rājivalōchana. The principal temples at Rājīm are those of Rājivalōchana, Rāmachandra and Kulēśvara. They have been described in detail by Mr. Beglar and General Cunningham in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. VII, pp. 148-56 and Vol. XVII, pp. 6-20, respectively. Mr. Cousens¹ and Mr. Longhurst² who visited the place in 1903 and 1907 have also written notes on them in their respective Progress Reports.

As early as 1825 Mr. Richard Jenkins, who was Resident at Nagpur, drew attention to three inscriptions at Rājīm, of which he sent eye-copies and facsimiles to Mr. W. B. Bayley, Vice President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal³. One of these was the copper-plate inscription of Tivarādēva, which has since been edited by Dr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff. The remaining two were stone inscriptions, one of which, viz., that of Jagapāla, was later on edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff. The third inscription has, however, remained unpublished so far. Jenkins had sent a copy and a facsimile of this record also to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but as 'it was too much mutilated to be decipherable with any degree of satisfaction', no transcript of it was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV which contained transcripts, imperfect of course, of the other two. The inscription was, for the first time, very briefly noticed by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1903-04, p. 48. He drew attention to the names of the princes Andapānala⁴ Prithvirāja, Virūparāt and Vilāsatuṅga and of the *Sūtradhāra* Durgahastin and stated that the inscription recorded the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu. He, further, assigned the record to about the middle of the 8th century A. D. This account was followed by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*⁵, but he, for the first time, correctly read the name of the king Nala in line 6. Owing presumably to its mutilated condition, the inscription has so far received little attention⁷, but as it is the only stone record of the Nala dynasty found in the Central Provinces, I edit it here from the original stone, Cunningham's facsimile⁸ and inked estampages taken under my supervision.

Like the aforementioned inscription of Jagapāla, the present record is incised on a slab of stone which is built into the left hand wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Rājivalōchana. The record contains 22 lines and at present covers a space 3' 8" broad and 1' 4" high. Some *aksharas* have, however, been lost on the right and left sides under the lime border.

¹ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 24 ff.

² *An. Rep. A. S. E. C.* for 1907-08, p. 35.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 501 and 511.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Dr. Bhandarkar seems to have wrongly read *khyātō=ndapānala iti* instead of *khyātō nripō Nāla iti* in line

6. These words were for the first time correctly read by R. B. Hiralal.

⁶ First ed. (1916), p. 103; second ed. (1932), p. 112. Hiralal read the word Pāṇḍava in line 4, which, if correct, would connect this family with the Sōmavamsīs. But I do not find it anywhere in this record.

⁷ Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, while editing the Poḍāgaḍh inscription, remarked that that was 'the first stone record of the Nala dynasty' discovered till then (above, Vol. XXI, p. 155).

⁸ *A. S. I.*, Vol. XVII, plate IX.

This was the state of things even in Cunningham's time, but since then the lime border has made further encroachments so that some *aksharas* on either side, which appear clear in his facsimile, have since become invisible. The writing has, again, suffered considerably in the middle and specially on the proper left. Besides, as several letters have now become choked up with oily dust, the inscription does not yield a satisfactory estampage. I have, therefore, mainly relied on Cunningham's facsimile which is quite clear though somewhat touched up by hand¹. I have, however, checked some doubtful readings by a personal examination of the original record.

The **characters** are of the proto-Nāgarī type resembling those of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahā-Sivagupta—Bālārjuna². The stroke of the medial *ā* is often placed on the top of letters see *pāda-* and *tasy-ābhū*—both in 1. 6, and *śrī-hāri* in 1. 15; *kh* has two forms, one in which the right limb contains a loop and the other in which it is without it, see e. g., *duḥkha-*, 1. 15 and *saukhy-*, 1. 3; *j* is generally tripartite; in some places its upper bar is reduced to a wedge as at the top of other letters, but the central bar has not completely bent down, see *dvija-*, 1. 3 and *viṣay-*, 1. 12; *p* is open at the top as in *vapushō* 1. 5; *y* is throughout bipartite, see *śriyam=*, 1. 4; in its subscript form the letter has an elongated rectangular shape as in the aforementioned Sirpur stone inscription; the right limb of *l* is not brought down as in the proper Nāgarī alphabet; *d* and *r* have developed serifs at their lower ends, while *h* is without a tail, see *vadanti* and *alpa-sāram*, both in 1. 14 and *vihitā* in 1. 18; a final consonant is indicated by an encircling curve in *bhāvāt*, 1. 14 and by a slanting stroke at the bottom as in *upārjanīyam*, 1. 14. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is composed metrically throughout. There are twenty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. The **orthography** exhibits the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and the use of *v* for *b*, see *chandr-ārka-* and *Vali-*, both in 1. 5.

The inscription is one of a king, probably Vilāsatuṅga, of the Nala dynasty. The **object** of it is to record the construction, by the king, of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu. It opens, as might be expected, with some verses invoking the blessings of that god. There are as many as five verses of this type, of which the first is almost completely lost. The fourth verse is in the form of a dialogue between Hari (Viṣṇu) and Lakshmi, while the fifth describes the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu. Verse 6 which is partly defaced apparently glorifies a royal family³ which by means of *double entendre* is compared with the sun. The next verse describes Nala as one who had surpassed the god of love by his splendid form and whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the bee-like crest-jewels of a crowd of hostile kings who submitted to him. This Nala is plainly the well-known legendary king of that name glorified in the *Mahābhārata*. The record next proceeds to describe, in verses 8 and 9, Prithvirāja who, like the stream of the Rēvā (Narmadā), was venerated by all people and was, like Mādhātṛi, created by God as He found the world tainted by the attack of the Kali age. Verses 10-12 are devoted to the glorification, equally conventional, of Prithvirāja's son Virūparāja. Verse 14 mentions Vilāsatuṅga who was probably a son⁴ of Virūparāja. The next three verses (15-17) were probably devoted to his praise, but they are very badly mutilated. It was pro-

¹ The facsimile is misleading in a few places. See for instance *agrē* in 1. 16 and *purushēna* in 1. 18, which cannot be read as such from the facsimile, but are clear in my estampage.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

³ Some word like *varṣaḥ* is lost at the end of line 5.

⁴ No word specifying this relation occurs in the extant portion, but the word *vilāsinaḥ* in the ablative or genitive case in verse 14 probably refers to Virūparāja.

bably this king Vilāsatuṅga who erected the excellent and lofty temple of Viṣṇu¹ which is described in verses 19-22. This is followed by the usual prayer to future rulers to preserve the religious monument and the hope that it would last for ever. The *praśasti*, as the inscription is called in verse 28, was composed probably by Durgagōla. It was incised by the artisan (*Sūtradhāra*) Durgahastin, son of Jalahastin.

The inscription is not dated², but on palaeographic grounds it was considered to be not later than the 8th or 9th century A.D. by Cunningham³ and was referred to about the middle of the 8th century by D. R. Bhandarkar.⁴ As stated before, its characters resemble those of the Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna at Sirpur. I have stated elsewhere⁵ the evidence on which I place Tivarādēva in *circa* A.D. 530-550 and his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta in the first half of the seventh century A.D. The Nala kings mentioned in the present inscription seem to have established themselves in the Raipur District some time after Mahā-Śivagupta. It may, therefore, not be wrong to assign the present record to about A.D. 700.

Until recently the Nala dynasty was known only from references to them in the Aihole inscription⁶ of Pulakēśin II and some records⁷ of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. In the former, Kirtivarman I, the father of Pulakēśin, is called the night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. Dr. Fleet thought that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of Bellāry and Karnūl, because a copper-plate inscription from the Karnūl District records the grant, by Vikramāditya I of the Early Chālukya dynasty, of the village Ratnagiri in the Naḷavāḍi-*viśaya*, which according to Dr. Fleet, is identical with the modern Ratnāgiri in the Maḍakśīrā *tālukā* of the Bellāry District.⁸ The discovery of the Rithapur plates of Bhavadattavarman⁹ showed that the Nalas had extended their sway, for a time at least, to the ancient Vidarbha. These plates are inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those of the Vākāṭaka grants. They were issued from Nandivardhana which I have shown elsewhere¹⁰ to have been the Vākāṭaka capital before the foundation of Pravarapura. The occupation of this important city in the heart of the Vākāṭaka territory points to the conclusion that the Nalas had invaded the Vākāṭaka kingdom and established themselves for a time in Vidarbha. This is again confirmed by the statement in the Bālāghaṭ plates that the Vākāṭaka Prithivishēṇa II raised his sunken family.¹¹ He seems to have driven out the Nalas from Vidarbha and to have even carried the war into the enemy's territory.

¹ Verse 20 shows that the king built the temple for the increase of the religious merit of his son who had died.

² Beglar thought that the inscription contained two dates—one 870 or 879 and the other seven hundred and odd, the units and tens being mutilated, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 152, but this is wholly incorrect. What Beglar supposed to be the figures 870 or 879 is only the word *utkīrṇā* in l. 22.

³ *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 7.

⁴ *P. R. A. S. W. I.*, for 1903-04, p. 48.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 18 ff. and Vol. XXIII, p. 118.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ See, for instance, the Kauthēn grant of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, p. 15.

⁸ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 363. The Naḷavāḍi-*viśaya* is also mentioned in the Dayyamdinne plates of Vinayāditya dated Śaka 614. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 24 ff.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff. The king's name appears wrongly as Bhavattavarman in this inscription.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 210 ff.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 271.

The Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription¹ states that Bhavadattavarman's son restored the glory of his family and re-settled the capital Pushkarī which had been devastated by the enemy. This enemy was probably none other than the Vākātaka Prithivishēṇa II.

The Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription points to the south-eastern portion of Mahākōśala, comprising the Bastar State and the adjoining Jeypore Agency, as the home of the Nalas. The *Purāṇas* also state that the Nalas ruled over Kōśalā² which must be taken to mean Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Mahākōśala. No predecessors of Bhavadatta were so far known, but recently in 1939 a hoard of gold coins of the Nala dynasty was discovered at the village Edeṅgā in the Koṇḍegāon *taluk* of the Bastar State.³ This hoard comprised coins of three kings, *viz.*, Varāha, Bhavadatta and Arthapati. It seems that Varāha preceded Bhavadatta who was himself followed by Arthapati. From the Rithapur plates we know that Arthapati was a son of Bhavadattavarman.⁴ He evidently succeeded Bhavadatta and ruled for a time in Vidarbha, but was ultimately driven out by Prithivishēṇa II. Skandavarman,⁵ another son of Bhavadatta, is known from the Poḍāgaḍh inscription. He rehabilitated the fortune of his family as stated above.

As Bhavadatta, Arthapati and Skandavarman were thus contemporaries of Narēndrasēṇa and Prithivishēṇa II, they must have ruled in the south-eastern part of Mahākōśala in the second half of the fifth century A.D. The Drug, Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, which lay to the north of their territory, were held by the kings of the so-called Śarabhapura dynasty; for their inscriptions have been found at Āraṅg,⁶ Khariar,⁷ Raipur,⁸ Sāraṅgarh⁹ and Sirpur.¹⁰ These kings at first ruled from Śarabhapura, but subsequently their capital was shifted to Śripura, modern Sirpur, about 35 miles north by east of Rājim in the Raipur District. This dynasty was overthrown by the Early Sōmavamśis.¹¹ As I have shown elsewhere,¹² Udayana, the founder of this dynasty was ruling in Central India, for a stone inscription found at Kālāñjara records his construction of a temple of Viṣṇu evidently at Kālāñjara. He or his sons seem to have invaded Mahākōśala probably during a campaign of their Maukhari suzerain Īśvaravarman or Īśānavarman. Inscriptions of Udayana's grandson Īśānadēva and great-grandson Tivaradēva

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 ff.

² Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

³ For a detailed account of this hoard, see my article in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, No. I, pp. 29 ff.

⁴ The editor of the Rithapur plates took Arthapati mentioned towards the close of the record as an epithet (meaning 'the lord of wealth') of Bhavadatta himself, but this is incorrect. See *loc. cit.* p. 33.

⁵ The name of this prince, which occurs at the end of line 5 of the Poḍāgaḍh inscription is partly mutilated. It has been tentatively read as Skandavarman, but the subscript members of the ligature *sk* and *nd* are not clear and it may be suggested, in view of the close similarity in the letters *s* and *a* in the alphabet of the period, that the intended name was Arthavarman. But the reading *Śrī-Arthavarmanā* in place of *Śrī-Skandavarmanā* in lines 5-6 of that inscription would involve a hiatus and it appears doubtful if the name Arthapati would have been shortened into Artha or Arthavarman. I therefore take this prince to be different from Arthapati.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 196 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff. and Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.

¹⁰ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

¹¹ Hiralal was of opinion that the Sōmavamśis preceded the kings of Śarabhapura, but this view is not correct, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 17, n. 3.

¹² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.

have been found in the Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, which were previously under the rule of the kings of Śarabhapura. These Early Sōmavaṃśīs ruled from Śrīpura. It has been already stated that a copper-plate inscription of Tivaradēva has been found at Rājim itself. The plates were issued from Śrīpura and record the king's grant of the village Pimparipadraka in the Pēṇthāma-*bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa. It has been doubted whether this inscription belongs to Rājim at all,¹ for neither of the two places mentioned in it was identified in the vicinity of Rājim. But such a doubt can no longer be entertained; for the village Pimparipadraka is evidently Piprōd which lies only 3 miles north-west of Rājim.² The Sōmavaṃśīs continued to rule in Chhattisgarh for some generations after Tivaradēva; for copper-plates and stone inscriptions of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna have been found at Mallār³ in the Bilāspur District and at Sirpur and Āraṅ in the Raipur District.⁴ It is not known how long their rule lasted in Chhattisgarh, for the later records of the dynasty have been found far away to the east in the Sambalpur and Cuttack Districts of Orissa and the Pāṭnā and Sonapur States in the Eastern States Agency.⁵ A stone inscription at Āraṅ mentions Raṇakēśarin who was probably a brother of Mahā-Śivagupta⁶ and another at Sirpur names Śivanandī as a son of the same king,⁷ but it is not known if either of them came to the throne. The present inscription shows that the Sōmavaṃśīs were ultimately ousted from Chhattisgarh by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings.

The Aihole inscription shows that the Nalas suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Kirtivarman I some time in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. As stated before, this Chālukya king is called the night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. It seems, however, that the Nalas, like the Mauryas,⁸ were not totally exterminated. Like other princes of Kōśala and Kaliṅga,⁹ they must have submitted to Pulakēśin II also, but they found a favourable opportunity for expansion when the Chālukyan kingdom was overrun by the Pallavas at the end of Pulakēśin's reign. They invaded the country of their northern neighbours, the Sōmavaṃśīs, whom they drove to the east. The present inscription mentions three Nala princes, Prithvirāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatunga. None of these names is known from any other record and their exact relation to the successors of Bhavadattavarman cannot be determined.

The history of Mahākōśala during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. is still shrouded by a thick veil of obscurity. We do not therefore know how long the rule of Nalas lasted in this territory. An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple at Pāli about 12 miles north of Ratanpur records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva. I have elsewhere¹⁰ shown this Vikramāditya to be Vikramāditya I of the Bāṇa dynasty, who was a son of Malladēva. He was also

¹ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 25.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 116, n. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 49-50.

⁵ See the tabular statement above, Vol. XI, pp. 198 ff.

⁶ Hiralal has shown that Raṇakēśarin mentioned in the Āraṅ inscription was a brother of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna, above, Vol. XI, p. 185.

⁷ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 49.

⁸ The Mauryas were ruling in Koṅkaṇ till the reign of Pulakēśin II at least, see verses 20 and 21 of the Aihole inscription.

⁹ See verse 26 of the Aihole inscription.

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the Third Indian History Congress.*

called Jayamēru and Bāṇa-Vidyādhara¹ and flourished from *circa* A.D. 870 to 895. No other inscription of the Bāṇas has been discovered anywhere else in the Central Provinces. Hence we cannot say if they had extended their sway to the Raipur District in the south-west. In any case the rule of the Nalas must have ended towards the close of the 9th century when the Kalachuri Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhādhavala, the son of Kōkalla I, conquered the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala².

We have seen above that the present inscription records the construction of a temple of Vishṇu. The temple where the inscribed slab is set up at present is also dedicated to Vishṇu under the name of Rājīvalōchana (lotus-eyed). The image worshipped in it is made of black stone and is a common representation of Vishṇu with the usual symbols of the mace, the discus, the conch and the lotus. As Cunningham has shown³, the temple is built on a peculiar plan, its most striking features being the shape of the *maṇḍapa* which is oblong instead of square and the sculptures on the pilasters which are large single figures, like those on Buddhist stūpa railings, instead of clusters of small figures as is usual in Brahmanical temples. This plan is evidently old and so the inscription is *primā facie* in its original position. Cunningham referred the construction of the temple to the 5th century A.D. on the supposition that the copper-plate inscription of Tivaradēva refers to it. This, of course, is incorrect; for the plates merely record the gift of a village to a Brāhmaṇa and have no connection with the temple. Cousens drew attention to the fact that in plan the Rājīvalōchana temple at Rājim is a copy of the Lakshmaṇa temple at Sirpur⁴. Of the latter temple he found only the *garbhagriha* standing, while the *maṇḍapa* was in ruins. Relying on the statement of some people of Sirpur⁵ that several pillars and other sculptures had been taken from there to Rājim, Cousens suggested that the pillars, pilasters, door-frames and some sculptures used in the Rājīvalōchana temple were brought from Sirpur and that the ruined temple of Lakshmaṇa was rifled for the purpose. He thought that the slab containing the present inscription also possibly came from the Lakshmaṇa temple and recorded its erection⁶. As stated before, when Cousens visited Sirpur the *maṇḍapa* of the Lakshmaṇa temple was in ruins. He recommended its fallen debris to be removed. When this was done, a large inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna was disclosed in it. This record has since been edited by R. B. Hiralal in this journal⁷. It registers the construction of a temple of Vishṇu by Vāsaṭā, the mother of Mahā-Śivagupta. It is therefore plain that the present inscription could not have originally belonged to the Sirpur temple. Unfortunately it mentions no place-name which could have decided its original position indisputably. But it is inconceivable that a king who prays to future rulers for the preservation of his own religious monument would rifle a similar edifice of a past king to obtain ready made building materials⁸. It does not also seem likely that the Sirpur temple

¹ See Guḍimallam plates, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

² See verse 23 of the Bilhari stone inscription, above, Vol. I, p. 256 and verse 12 of the Benares plates of Karna, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 306.

³ A. S. I. R., Vol. XVII, p. 9.

⁴ P. R. A. S. W. I. for 1903-04, p. 24. For the plans of the two temples, see A. S. I. R. Vol. XVII, plates V and XY with corrections in the latter pointed out by Cousens, *loc. cit.* Though the temple at Sirpur is now called the temple of Lakshmaṇa, it was originally dedicated to Vishṇu, see below.

⁵ A. S. I. R., Vol. VII, p. 41.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

⁸ It is noteworthy in this connection that the present record describes in verse 22 the trouble and expense that one has to incur in erecting a unique temple.

- 3 [वराह ?] — ८ सौख्योचिताम् । प्रोटफुल्ल[म्बु(म्बु)]रुहस्थितद्विजव[रां] वि(वि)-
भ्रच्छ्रियं सारसीं सन्तापप्रश्म(शम)क्षमः स जगतः [शश्वत्सु]खायास्तु वः ॥३॥*]
कस्त्वं देवि हरिः सृष्टस्यपसर क्रोडीकृतः कक्षया — — — निपुणा मुख-
[प्र] ८ ८
- 4 — — त्रतिं सा क्षमा । हिते ?) वाग्भिर्न [तु] कर्मणा प्रकटितं
धि[ग्मा ?]श्च का [मि] रतिः सत्यन्नः श्रियमित्यपास्तरभसां श्रिष्यन्प्रभुः पातु
वः ॥४॥* शीर्यच्छैलेन्द्रशृङ्गप्रपतनरभसा[दु]द्यदभोधिवीचि[व्या]सङ्गा — [सहे]-
लोच्छलदति ८ ८ — — ८ — —
- 5 ८ घोरम् । उच्चैर्योगीन्द्रलीलाविरचितवपुषो व्यस्तचन्द्रार्कतारं यस्याभूद्विष्वमध्याक्षय
इव स व(व)लिश्रीनिहन्ता हरि[ब्बः] ॥५॥* जयति प्रथितमहीभ्य[त्तु]ङ्गशिरो-
निहितनिजपादः । [नित्यो]दितप्रतापो(पः) [पूर्ण ?]दित्यो¹ ॥६॥*]
- 6 [आ*]सीदिलासिनिजरूपजितस्मरोपि शान्तात्मनाभुवि सदा सृष्टणीयहृत्तः । स्थातो
नृपो नल इति प्रणतारिचक्रचूडामणिभ्रमरचुम्बि(म्बि)तपादपद्मः ॥७॥*]
तस्याभून्नि[ज*] — ८ — ८ ८ ८ — — — ८ — भूभृतो विन्यस्ये[व*]
न[ग][स्य*]
- 7 — ८ ८ ८ [रट्ट ?]ष्टातिकान्तोन्नतेः । पृथ्वाराज इति क्रमोपचयिनीं वि(वि)भ्र-
च्छ्रियं निर्मलां सेव्यः सर्वजनस्य पापविगमाद्रेवाप्रवाहोपमः ॥८॥*] — — ८
व जुगुप्सितः [स]म[गुणैः ?] — — ८ — — ८ —, — — — ८ ८ —
८ — ८ ८ व[धै]र्योतस्स यो धि ८ — ।
- 8 [नि*]श्चिन्त्यातिकलिप्रपातमलिनामालोक्य लोकस्थितिं धात्रा सर्वगुणैः कृतः
क्षितिपति[र्भा] — [ट्ट] — — ८ मः² ॥९॥* तस्योच्चै[र्भु]पुषे ?]श्वरव्यति-
[करव्याप्तात्म]कार्यो ८ —, [मि]त्राणां ८ ८ — ८ — ८ ८ ८ — — — ८
— — ८ — । [वि*]ख्यातो हिमवानिवा ८ ८
- 9 ८ दः पुत्रः पतिर्भूतां धत्ते नाम विरूपराज इति यो दिग्वन्दिहृन्दि[स्तुतम्]
॥१०॥* [रू*]पेणाप्रतिमः [श्रु]तिन च पां³ सत्यान्वितस्त्या ८ —,⁴ [शीर्य ?]
स्यायतन[भ्यं परमि]ति — — ८ — — ८ — । — — — ८ ८ — ८ —
८ ८ ८ — — — ८ — — [गु*]णैर्यस्योच्चै[र्मनु] — ८ —

¹ Some four *aksharas* like *dbhavō vambāḥ* are lost here. It is curious to note that the name *Śrī-Pūrṇadītya* in characters of the 8th century A. D. occurs on two pillars of this temple at Rājim, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, Plate X. [The *visarga-sandhi* in the preceding word *-pratāpō* does not justify the proposed reading *Pūranādītya* in the present instance.—B. C. C.]

² The last seven *aksharas* of this verse were probably *Māndhātṛi-rāj-ōpamaḥ*.

³ The context requires a reading like *śrutēna vimalaḥ*.

⁴ Restore *śatyāginām*.

- 10 ८ सकलं कीर्त्तिर्जगद्भ्राम्यते ॥[११॥*] शत्रुघ्नोतिव(व)लेन — ८ [मद*]नो
द[र्पि]ण कीर्त्त्या ८ —, — न्यारामतनु[र्व्व(र्व्व)]धः पृथुरणे भीष्मः प्रतापेन
च । — — — ८ ८ — ८ — ८ ८ ८ — — — ८ — — ८ —,
— — — ८ ८ — ८ — ८ ८ ८ — — — ८ — प्यः कृतः ॥[१२॥*]
प्रति[प*]-
- 11 [र्वी*]दयभाजः सवितुरि — — हामोनुरागधरः ।
॥[१३॥*] विलासिनस्तुङ्गत[मा] ८ — —, विलासतुङ्गः ८ ८ — ८ — ।
८ — ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ — —, ८ — ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ — —
॥[१४॥*] — — [ख*][ङ्ग]लताभिघात ८ ८
- 12 — [शङ्का]रिहृन्दाभ्रुवं पश्येमान्न समोस्त्यनेन विजयाधी[शं ?] स्तु[वं ?]तेन्यतः ।
प — — ८ ८ — ८ — ८ ८ ८ — — — ८ — — ८ —, मन्ये धीरपि
— ८ — ८ [वसु ?]धा(धा) कालेन [ना] — ८ — ॥[१५॥*] [म*]त्वा
स्वदे[हान्त]रिते[न] — —, — — ८ [वर्ण]न्य[सु]धाखि[लानि*]
- 13 [अ*]न्तस्समुद्दिश्य विधान[ट्ट]ष्टदाना(न)क्रिया[भि]र्ननु सद्य एव ॥[१६॥*] यथो[च्च ?]
पि — ८ ८ भूतलो[के] पु[ना] ८ — — ८ ८ मेव [राज्ञा]म् । युगस्य य
— ८ ८ — ८ — —, पूर्व्वम्[पश्य*]न्ति परं स्मृतिज्ञाः ॥[१७॥*] ८
— ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ जे[भ्यः] चातुर्यशा[स्त्र ?] ८ ८ —
- 14 ८ भावात् [।*] धर्मस्य मूलं च यथा वदन्ति ८ — ८ [त*]स्मात्तदुपार्ज-
नीयम् ॥[१८॥*] मत्वा चलं जीवितमल्पसारं [वु(वु)ङ्गा] कचिकीर्त्तनमेव
कायम् । कीर्त्तिः स्थिरा यस्य स [जी]वलोके तत्पुण्यमूर्त्तिश्चि[रजीव] एव
॥[१९॥*] — — — — ८ राज्ञा दशवदनभुजोत्थि[स]कै[लास*]-
- 15 [श्रु*]ङ्गश्रीहारि [स्वे]न धाम्ना स्फुरदमलसुधा[नि]त्यन[व्ये ?]न्दुनेद[म्] । देवस्याशेष-
दुःखप्रभवभयनुदः कारितं स्थानमुच्चैर्व्विष्णोः पुण्याभिवृद्धौ [चि]दशजनसुखातिथ्य-
भाजः सुतस्य ॥[२०॥*] प्रातर्व्वी[र्व्वी]लार्करोचिर्व्व्यतिकारविलसच्चारुवामाधराभां
वि(वि)भ्राणं भूमिभाजां ८ ८¹

¹ The *aksharas* lost here and at the beginning of the next line may have been *su-viśa*.

- 16 ८ [द]ममलं दृश्यते दृष्टिरस्याम् । यद्गुरादेव सिद्धैरपरमतिमद्दूषणं भूरिधानः
पुण्याधारं सुमेरोः शिखरमिव [प]तल्लोलगङ्गाप्रवाहम् ॥[२१॥*] अग्रे तावदुप-
प्रमाण[कर*]णं प्रख्यात — — ८ —, क्लेशप्राय[मिदं*] व्ययेन महता सम्भा-
रसम्पा[दनम् ।*]
- 17 तत्तिद्धेरल[मुख्य ?]खस्य पुनरप्या[भो]गचिन्ता परा लोके सर्वललामकीर्तनकृतामा-
यास एवादितः ॥[२२॥*] कर्तुर्व्वरं पालयिता मतो मे पा[त्यं] निरायासमपे-
८ — — । सर्वोतिलोभा ८ ८ — परं यत्तददर्शतां याति ८ — पि राज्ञा-
(ज्ञाम्) ॥[२३॥*] विध्वस्तैः प ८ —
- 18 ८ रेन्न च पराः पापात्मनां सम्पदः साधूनामपि पूर्व्वपुण्यविहिता दृश्यन्त
एवोज्ज्वलाः । तस्माद्दर्शफलप्रपञ्चरचितं दृष्ट्वा विचि[त्रं] ८ —,¹ [त]त्तत्त्वं
पुरुषेण² येन गुणिना — — ८ वि[क्ल]म्य[ति] ॥[२४॥*] मत्वेवं स्वशरीरकञ्च
कृतिभि[र्वि]द्वि[द्वि][र*]-
- 19 [प]श्चि[रं] लेलालोक ८ — ८ — सुखमपि प्रत्यहजालावृतम् । श्रुत्वा शक्र-
पुरस्सरा[ञ्च] विभवैः पुण्यात्मभिः सेविताः कार्यः कीर्त्त[न*]दानपालनविधौ
धर्मस्य यत्नः [परः ॥२५॥*] — — —³ ८ विकासिनो मतिम[तां] भासन्ति⁴
भाचो(वा) ८ —,
- 20 — — — [यु ?]तदुग्धसि[क्थ ?]धवलो — — [ति]⁵ वक्षः[स्थले] । यावद्भववहो
वि — न्ति च जगत्तावत्प्रयत्नादिमाङ्गीर्त्तिम्यालयतः प्रिया [नर*]पतिर्न्यासास्थया
स[ज्ज]नाः ॥[२६॥*] भृत्यो मित्रमप[त्यं] ८ [अभू*]त्तद्यैव भूपतेः । दुर्ग-
गोल इति — ८,⁶
- 21 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ [तो]न्यमार्गमा[ञ्चं]
विज्ञेया प्रविरचिता प्रशस्ति — — ?⁷ राज्ञे — ८ ८ वचना वि[जा]त-
भावा सद्गुणैरतिमहतादरेण मान्या ॥[२८॥*] जलह[स्ति][सु*][ते]नियं प्रशस्तिः
शिल्पशालि[ना] [।*]
- 22 उत्कीर्णा सूचधारेण [साधुना] दुर्गहस्तिना ॥[२९॥*]

¹ Restore jagat.² These aksharas are almost clear in the estampage.³ This and the next pāda must have begun with yāvat.⁴ This is incorrect for भासने.⁵ Some word like midrāti is expected here, but the first akshara appears like ha.⁶ Restore prājñab.⁷ Restore r-ēshā.

No. 4.—VENKATAPUR INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA ; SAKA 828.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., DHARWAR.

The inscription which is edited here for the first time was copied by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., in the field season of 1926-27 and included in the *List of the Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions copied during the year 1926-27* as No. 82. It is standing on the site of the ruined village **Veṅkaṭāpūr** in the Gadag taluk of the Dhārwar District, close to the temple of Veṅkaṭēśa which is a modern construction of within fifty years. The place was visited by me along with the Superintendent for Epigraphy, in 1933-34 and again in 1935-36 when the inscription was examined by me *in situ* and its photograph and fresh impressions were taken under my supervision. I edit the record below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The inscription is engraved on a pillar-like black stone which, being broad at the base, gradually tapers at the top and the inscribed portion measures 2' 10" in length and 11" and 1' 6" in breadth at the top and bottom respectively. The top of the inscribed portion contains two sections one below the other. The first section bears the figure of a *linga* while the second has that of a cow and a sucking calf. The height of individual letters ranges between $\frac{3}{4}$ " and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ".

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets which developed in the Kannaḍa districts of the Bombay Presidency in the 10th century A.D. and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. They exhibit round forms as against the antique, square and upright type that characterised the records of Amōghavarsha I¹ and his predecessors. They resemble the writing of the Soratūr inscription of Kṛishṇa II dated in Śaka 805² and as in that record, the *talekaṭṭu* of the letters is distinctly curved and crescent-like, in contrast with the horizontal straight lines found in the earlier inscriptions. Besides these observations generally applicable to the inscriptions of the early tenth century A.D. which marks the period of transition in the evolution of the Kannaḍa alphabet, the following points may be noted in the **palæography** of the present record :—(1) The initial vowel *i* (*irpalle*, l. 3) is of the archaic type and the initial vowel *e* is used in *Eṇēnāga* (l. 16). (2) Among the consonants, only three principal test letters, *viz.*, *j*, *b*, and *l*, are used : *j* is of the later cursive form as in the Nandavāḍige inscription³ of Śaka 822 (824), cf. *rājādhirāja* (ll. 7-8), *rājyābhi*² (l. 8), *Chandratēja* (l. 13), etc. The letter *b* is presented throughout in its later cursive form. The letter *l* is used in its cursive form without the inward miniature representation of the principal part of the old square character, but peculiarly enough, it has a *talekaṭṭu* on the right-hand curve which is not met with in any record of this early period : cf. *vallabha* (l. 7), *Beḷvolam* (l. 9), *oḷkallanam* (l. 17), etc. In only one case, this letter appears without the *talekaṭṭu*, *viz.*, *sale* (l. 9). (3) The record uses freely the special forms of *n*, *m* and *y*. The secondary form of *n* is used in *onduttaram* (l. 9), *n=āle* (l. 10), *Eṇēnāga* (l. 16), etc.. The secondary form of *m* is used in *m=emba* (l. 3), *mahārāja* (l. 7), *mūnūṛumam* (l. 10), etc. For the secondary form of *y*, see *ṭṭeṇaneyā* (l. 3), *dasamiyūm* (l. 6), *vṛiddhiyondū* (l. 9), *Māyirmma* (l. 11), etc. *V* seems to have been written in its special cursive type in one case only, *viz.*, *per-ggāvunḍa* (l. 12). *Th* is unusually open at the left top which is curved inside to mark the aspiration : cf. *prithuvī* (l. 7). *D* cannot be distinguished from *d* except in one case, *baḷdarappode* (l. 18). The aspirate *ph* is used with a cross stroke on the right curve in *phalam* (l. 23). The Dravidian *ḷ* and *ṛ* are found in ll. 18, 19, 21 and 16 and 20 respectively.

¹ Mantravāḍi inscription : Śaka 787 (above, Vol. VII, p. 198, plate), Sirūr inscription : Śaka 788 (*ibid.*, p. 202), Nīlguṇḍ inscription : Śaka 788 (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 98, plate), Soratūr inscription of the time of Amōghavarsha, A.D. 869 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 176).

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 206 and plate.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 221, and plate in Vol. XI, p. 127.

In regard to **orthograghy**, the following may be noted. (1) An *anusvāra* preceding a consonant in the body of a word is very often changed into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs, cf. =*onduttara* (l. 9), *Mahāsirivanta* (l.10), etc. (2) Palatal *ś* is substituted by a dental *s*, cf. *Saka* . . . *sata* (ll. 1-2), *dasami* (l. 5), etc. The **language** is ancient Kannada except the latter half of the imprecatory verse in Sanskrit beginning with *bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, in which, it may be noted, *sadā* is written wrongly for *tadā* (ll. 21-22). On the expression *onduttaram*, attention may be drawn to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao's remarks above, Vol. XXI, p. 207. It may be added that a similar expression occurs in another record of Kṛishṇa II from the Mysore province dated in Śaka 835 (in words), Prajāpati, in the following passage : *Akālavarshadēvana vijayarājyam=onduttarōttaram=abhivriddhige saluttire*¹.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king **Amōghavarsha** and records the gift of a garden with one thousand creepers at **Māvinuru**, with proprietary rights (*sāmya*), made to **Chandratēja-Bhaṭṭāra**, pupil of Mallikārjuna-Bhaṭṭāra, by **Bagega** when the latter was the *Pergāvūṇḍa* (senior *gāvūṇḍa*) of **Sirivura**, **Māyirmma** was administering **Mulḡunda-twelve** and **Mahāsirivanta** was governing **Beḷvola-three-hundred** division. It is stated that Mugina Kāḍamma, Eṇnāga, Kuppa and Māda were holding the rights of *okkaltana* (cultivation rights) in the village and that if they were to destroy this gift, they would incur the sin of destroying Vāraṇāsi, the seven crores of ascetics, a tank, a garden and a cow.

The date of the gift is given as : **Wednesday, the 10th day of the dark half of Kārtika in the cyclic year Prabhava** falling in the **Śaka year 828** (expired). The year Prabhava fell according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, in Śaka 829 (expired) while according to Sewell's *Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, it was Śaka 829 (current) i.e., 828 (expired) by the Northern system. In this year i.e., Śaka 828 (expired), the lunar month Śrāvaṇa was intercalated according to both the authorities and the details given in the record fell on Friday, November 14, A.D. 906 in which case, the weekday cited in the record would be a mistake. If Śrāvaṇa were not intercalated, the details would regularly correspond, for the lunar month Āśvina of the *Ephemeris*, to **A.D. 906, October 15, Wednesday**. But, for Prabhava, according to the Southern system (Śaka 829, expired), the date corresponded to A.D. 907, November 3, Tuesday;⁷³.

From the title Amōghavarsha borne by the king, the date and the alphabet of the record, it is evident that this inscription is a **Rāshṭrakūṭa** document. The *biruda* was assumed by more than one king of the family and the earliest of them was Nṛipatuṅga Amōghavarsha I to whose reign the present inscription will naturally have to be assigned. But this possibility is precluded by the date Śaka 828 which falls right towards the close of his son Kṛishṇa's reign, which, according to the Hirebidri inscription², began in Śaka 800, the latest known date for his father being Śaka 799, Phālguna, śu. 10 (March, A.D. 878)³. If it is not a mistake on the part of the copyist-scribe or the engraver, we have to presume that Kṛishṇa II also bore, like his father, the *biruda* Amōghavarsha.

During the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Beḷvola-three-hundred was held by a succession of Governors viz., Dēvaṇṇayya, in A.D. 866,⁴ 869,⁵ 872⁶ and Śaka 793, Vijaya (=probably A.D. 873)⁷ Maṅgatōraṇa in A.D. 893⁸ and Mahāsirivanta in A.D. 901,⁹ 907¹⁰ and 918.¹¹ It is not certain

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sorab, 88.

² Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 100 of 1935-36.

³ This is the date of completion of the *Jayadhavalakṣikā* of Virasēna during the reign of Amōghavarsha I.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 98 ff.

⁵ B. K. No. 140 of 1926-27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 246 of 1928-29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 105 of 1926-27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 20 of 1926-27.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 60 of 1926-27.

¹⁰ The Venkaṭāpūr inscription under publication (*ibid.*, No. 82 of 1926-27).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 184 of 1932-33.

whether these officers were related to each other as father and son and inherited the governorship as an ancestral estate or were appointed there from time to time like the governors of a province in modern days. From the Hebbāl inscription of Śaka 896 (A.D. 975),¹ it is learnt that the district was presented to the Gaṅga king Būtuga II as *baḷicaḷi* (dowry) at the time of his marriage with the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Rēvakanimmaḍi, the daughter of Amoghavarsha III Baddega. It was subject to the Gaṅga power since then as can be gathered from the Rōṇ inscription² of A.D. 942 and the Kurtakōṭi inscription³ of A.D. 946 where the Gaṅga prince is called the *bhāva* (brother-in-law) of Kṛishṇa III. The Ātakūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III and Būtuga II dated Śaka 872 (A.D. 949-50)⁴ states, however, that Kṛishṇa III was pleased with the valour of Būtuga displayed in the killing of the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya in the battle of Takkōlam and granted to him as reward the districts of Banavāse, Purigere, Beḷvola, Kisukāḍu and Bāgenāḍu. This would show that Būtuga was dispossessed of his hold over the Beḷvola district in the interval between A.D. 946 and A.D. 949-50. But the circumstances under which this event must have happened are not apparent. It is not unlikely that his elder brother Rāchamalla called Rachyāmalla in the Deolī plates⁵ of Kṛishṇa III (A.D. 940) by ousting whom from Gaṅgavāḍi, Būtuga had been placed on the throne, attempted to regain his power and wrested from him a portion of the territory including Beḷvola some time after A.D. 946. Būtuga must have sought the assistance of his brother-in-law Kṛishṇa III and with his help killed Rāchamalla. This latter incident is mentioned in the subsidiary inscription on the top of the Ātakūr stone⁶ dated Śaka 872 (A.D. 949-50) as an event of recent occurrence and so must have happened before the battle of Takkōlam so that Kṛishṇa III could present Būtuga the districts mentioned above. Perhaps on the death of Rāchamalla, the territory including Beḷvola was formally annexed by Kṛishṇa III as an overlord and victor, to the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom so that he could grant it to Būtuga in token of his services at the Takkōlam battle. Beḷvola was held by Mārasimha II in A.D. 970⁷ and after the subversion of the family by the Western Chāḷukyas in about A.D. 975, it passed to the family of Kannapa and Śōbbhanarasa the officers of the Western Chāḷukyas.⁸

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Beḷvola-three-hundred** is the well-known district comprising portions of the modern Gadag, Rōṇ and Navalgund taluks of the Dhārwar District. **Mulgunda-twelve** was named after Mulgund the modern village of that name in the Gadag taluk. **Māvinuru** where the gift was made I am not able to trace. This is perhaps identical with Māvinūru at which, according to the Konnūr inscription, twelve *nivartanas* of land were granted to the Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkeya at Koḷanūra. Kielhorn, who edited the record, has identified this village with the modern Mannoor 8 miles east by south of Konnūr.⁹

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 ◎ Svasti [||*] **Sa(Śa)ka-nṛīpa-kāl-ātīta-saṁ-**
- 2 **vatsara-sa(śa)taṁgaḷ-eṇṭunūra**
- 3 **irppattenṭaneya**¹¹ **Prabhavam-emba va-**

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff.

² *Ibid.*, No. 126 of 1926-27.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.

⁴ B. K. Nos. 21 and 149 of 1926-27.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 28.

⁶ From the ink-impression and original stone.

⁷ The letter *ya* is engraved below the line in small character.

⁸ B. K. No. 175 of 1926-27.

⁹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 55.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VI, p. 55.

¹¹ See above, Vol. XX, pp. 65 f.

- 4 nisham pravarttise [|*] tad-varshābhya-
 5 ntara Kārttikā(ka)-māsa bahula dasa(śa)-
 6 miyurū Budhavārad-andu [Sva*]sty=Amōgha-
 7 varsha prithuvī-vallabham mahārājādhi-
 8 rāja paramēśva(śva)ra bhāṭṭārara rājyābhi-
 9 vṛiddhiy=onduttaram sale Beḷvolam mū-
 10 nūṛumam Mahāsirivantan=āle Mu-
 11 ḷgundu(da) panneradumam Māyirmman=āle Si-
 12 rivurake Bagega perggāvunḍam=āguttire
 13 Mallika(kā)rjuna-Bhāṭṭārara śishyar=Chandratōja-
 14 Bhāṭṭārargge Māvinuroḷ =Bagega[nu] koṭṭam
 15 sāvira(ni) baḷliya tōṇṭada sāmyama Mugina
 16 Kāḍammanuṇ Eṇnāganuṇ Kuppanuṇ Māda-
 17 num=okkaltanam geyye mattam=alliy=o-
 18 kkal=ellam=i(i)dan=aḷiye baḷdar=appoḍ=ella
 19 Vāraṇāsiyumanu¹=eḷkōṭi tapōdhanamu[maṇ]
 20 keṇṇuman=ārāmeyuman kavileyu-
 21 man=aḷida pāpam=akku ☉ yasya ya-
 22 sya yadā bhūmi(mis=)tasya tasya sadā (tadā)
 23 [pha]lam ☉ maṇḡalam ☉

No. 5.—TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The two sets of copper-plates, which form the subject of the present paper, were found in course of some excavations near the temple of Dharmalingēśvara at the village of Sudava² (or, Sudaba) situated in the eastern division of the Parlākīmēḍi Estate in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency. At the time of the discovery, the plates were deposited in a mud-pot. They were received for examination by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy from the Agent and Diwan to the Raja Bahadur of Parlākīmēḍi. They have been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1920-21 (C. P. Nos. 1 and 2, page 93), and published for the first time by Pandit Satya Narayana Rajaguru of Parlākīmēḍi³. I now re-edit the two records from two sets of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

A.—Plates of Dēvēndravarmaṇ, son of Guṇārṇava ; [Gaṅga] Year 184.

These are three plates of copper, each measuring about 7½" by 3½". Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a ring-hole, a little above ½" in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a copper-ring of 3¾" diameter. The ends of the ring were soldered to a circular seal of 1½" in diameter. It bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a

¹ Read Vāraṇāsiyuman=.

² In *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 272 and *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 300, the find-spots of these records are said to be Aḍava instead of Sudava. These two names perhaps indicate one and the same place.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 271 ff.



bull, couchant to right, and a crescent above it. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The **weight** of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 102 *tolas*. The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is engraved on both sides. Three of the inscribed faces of the plates have six lines of writing apiece, while the fourth has seven, the total coming to twenty-five lines in all, the last line containing only three or four letters. The inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Chica-cole¹ (Year 183), Trilingi² (Year 192) and Siddhāntam³ (Year 195) plates of Dēvēndravarman, the donor of the present grant, already known to us.

Some of the **palæographical features** of the inscription are the following: (1) initial *a* occurs in line 5 and initial *ā* in l. 22, (2) the form of medial *ā* in *tā* of *mātā* (l. 9) is noteworthy, and (3) the final form of *t* occurs once only in *pūrvāt* (l. 16); the letter is smaller in size and is underscored once.

The **numerical symbols** for 100, 80 and 4 occur in the date which is given in l. 24.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting the three customary verses and one mentioning the writer towards the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among the **orthographical peculiarities** of the record may be mentioned the following: (1) the occurrence of the *jihvāmūliya* in lines 1 and 14, (2) the use of the *upadhmnīya* in lines 6 and 9, (3) the doubling of *t* before *y* in *sattya-*, *tyāga-* (l. 7) and *parikṛitya* (l. 9), according to Pāṇini, viii, 4, 47, (4) the doubling of consonants after *r*, (5) the doubling of consonants before *r*, the exceptions being in lines 18 and 19, (6) the use of *anusvāra* in place of final *m* in ll. 12, 20 and 21, (7) the change of *visarga* into *s* before dental *s* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 8 and 9), (8) substitution of *anusvāra* by guttural nasal before a palatal sibilant in *nistrīṣa* (l. 4) and *vaṁśyēna* (l. 22).

The inscription **records** the gift of the village of Haduvaka which was situated in the district (*viśaya*) called Pushyagiri-pañchālī to the learned Brāhmaṇa teacher Pataṅga-Sivāchārya, who was the *guru* of the donor. The original donee again made over one half of the village to (*the god*?) Yāgēsvara-bhaṭṭāraka and the other half to his own disciples and disciples' disciples. The gift was issued from Kalinganagara on the occasion of the termination of the *dīkṣā* ceremony of the donor. The donor was *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava. The writer of the charter was Pallavachandra, son of Mātrichandra, who belonged to the Apūrvanata family. The witness of the gift was *mahāmahattara* Śavarānandīśarman and the engraver was Sarvachandra, the son of Khaṇḍichandra, the *bhōgika*.

The **date**, given in words as well as in figures, is the Year 184, which presumably refers to the Gaṅga era.

Of the **localities** mentioned, Kalinganagara has been variously located at modern Kaliṅga-patam or at Mukhaliṅgam. The village of **Haduvaka** is evidently the same as Sudava (or, Sudaba), the findspot of our inscription. The district of **Pushyagiri-pañchālī** in which the village granted was situated, I am unable as yet to identify.

Palæographically, our inscription has to be placed in the **second half of the 7th century A.D.**

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 130 ff. and plates.

² *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 300 ff. and plates.

³ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff. and plates.

TEXT¹.*First Plate.*

- 1 Ōm² Svasti[|*] Sakala-vasumatī-tala-tilakāyamānas³=sarvv-artu-sukha-ramaṇīyād-vijaya-vatali **Kaliṅganagara-**
- 2 vāsakān=Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya charāchara-gurōs=sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūtttradhārasya
- 3 bhagavatō Gōkarṇasvāmīnaś=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmād-vigalita-kali-kalaṅkō Gāṅg-āmala-ku-
- 4 la-tilakō nija-nistriṅśa(striṅśa)-dhār-ōpārjjitas⁴=sakala-**Kaliṅg**-ādhirājya[|*] pravitata-chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mē
- 5 khal-āvani-tal-āmala-yaśāl anēk-āhava-saṅkshōbha-janita-jaya-śabda[|*] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chū-
- 6 ḍā-maṇi-prabhā-mañjarī-puñja-rañjita-charaṇaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō naya-vinaya-śauryy-[au-]

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 dāryya-sattya-ttyāga-sampadām=ādihāra-bhūtaḥ śrī-Guṇārṇava-sūnur=mmahārājaḥ śrīma-
[d*]-**Dēvēndravarmma Pushyagiri-**
- 8 **pañchālī**-vishayē **Haduvaka**-grāmē sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbinas=sama(mā)jñāpayati [|*]
Viditam=astu bhavatā[|n*] yath=āsmā-
- 9 bhir=ayaṁ grāmas=sarvva-karaiḥ pariḥṭity=ā-chandr-ārka=pratishṭhan mātā-pitṛōr=
ātmanaś=cha puny-ābhividdhayē veda-
- 10 vēdāṅg-ētiḥāsa-purāṇa-nyāya-vidyā-śva-siddhānt-ādhiḡatāya bhagavat-**Pataṅga-Śivāchār-
yyāya** guravē di-
- 11 ksh-ōttara-kālē guru-pūjāyai dattas=tēn=āpi pratigrihya Yāgēśvara-bhaṭṭārakāy=ārdhhaṁ
śva-śishya-praśi-
- 12 shyēbhyō=py=arddhaṁ(m)⁵ity=ēvam=viditvā yath-ōchita-bhāgabhogam=upa nayanta[|*]
sukhaṁ prativasat=ēti[|*] grāmasya sīmā-li-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

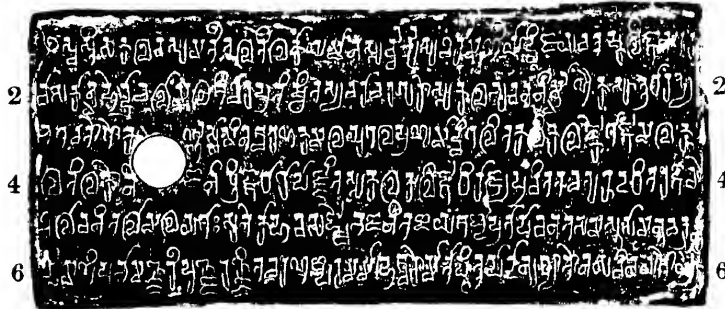
- 13 ngāni bhavanti [|*] Pūrvvasyān=diśi Guṇahārī garttā tata(tō)⁶ dakṣiṇasyān=diśi
sīmāntē⁷ s-aiva garttā paśchima(mē)na kadamba-
- 14 vṛikshaḥ tatas=chiñchā-vṛikshaḥ nimba[s*] tata[|*] sarjja-vṛikshaḥ taṭā[k-ā*]lyāni
timira-vṛikshaḥ tatali Piśāch-ālī-kāraka-vṛikshaḥ
- 15 taṭāk-ālī-paśchima-sīmāntē taṭāk-āly-uttarē bhallātaka-vṛikshaḥ tata(tō) jambū-vṛikshaḥ
Chullavēṇa

¹ From ink-impressions.² Denoted by a symbol.³ Read °māna-.⁴ Read °opārjjita-sakala-.⁵ The predicate *dattaḥ* is understood here.⁶ [The reading is *garta-dakṣiṇasyān=diśi*.—B. C. C.]⁷ Here we have an example of tautology. We have to read either *dakṣiṇasyān=diśi* or simply *dakṣiṇa-sīmāntē*.

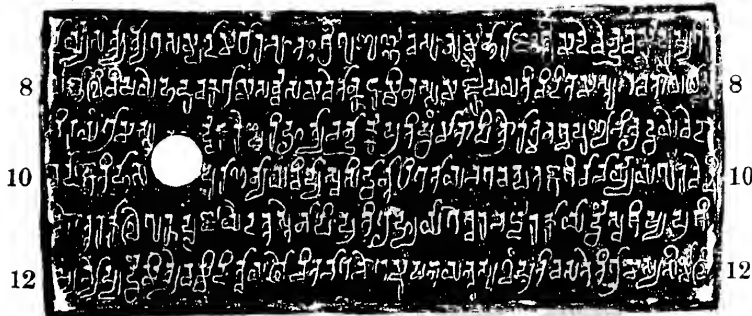
TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

A.—PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMAN; [GANGA] YEAR 184.

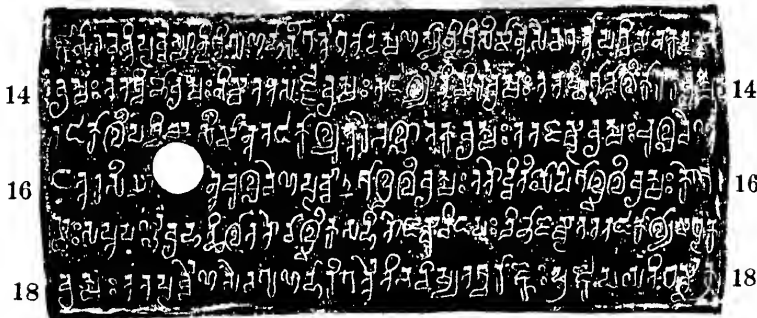
i.



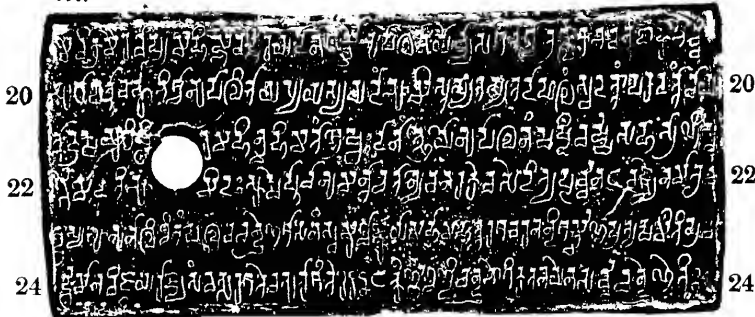
ii, a.



ii, b.



iii.



- 16 uttara-simāntē Chullavēṇa-pūrvvāt śālmālī-vṛikshaḥ tatō dvitīyō=pi śālmālī-vṛikshaḥ
kōśa-
17 mbaḥ saptapaṇṇa(rṇṇō) vṛi(bṛi)hat-chhi(ch-chhi)lā tatō vālmika-sahitō jambu
viṭapaḥ chiñchā-jambū[s*] tata[s*] taṭāk-ālyā[m*] madhūka-
18 vṛikshaḥ tata[h*] pūrvvēṇa s=aiva Guṇahārī gartt=ēti [[*] bhavishyataś=cha
rājñāḥ prajñāpayati [*] dharmma-kra-

Third Plate.

- 19 ma-vikramair=avāpya mahim=bhavadbhir=ayaṁ dānadharmmō=nupālaniyō(yaḥ) [[*]
Vyāsa-gītās=ch=ātra ślōka(kā) bhavanti - [*] 'Bahubhī(bhi)r=vva-
20 sudhā dattā va(ba)hubhīś=ch=ānupālītā [[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
tadā phalaṁ(lam) [[1*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā ya-
21 tnād=raksha Yudhishtīra [*] mahi(hī)n=ma(m=ma)himatām śrēṣṭhaḥ(tha) dānāt=
chhrē(ch=chhrē)yō=nupālanaṁ(nam) [[2*] Shashṭīm varshsha-sahasrāṇi sva-
22 rggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē
²vasēd=ity=Apūrvvanaṭa-vañśyē(vamśyē)na Mātricha-
23 ndrasya sūnūnā [[*] likhitam Pallavachandrēṇa³ śāsanam sva-mukh-ājñayā [[4*]
mahāmahattara-Śavarānandīśarmmaṇa[h*]⁴ pratyaksham=itī [*] prava-
24 rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara-śatē chatur-āśītē 100 80 4 [*] utkīrṇṇam
Khaṇḍichandra-bhōgika⁵-tanayēna ⁶Sarvvachandrēṇ=ētiḥ(ti) [[*]
25 [? U*]māpati⁷

B.—Plates of Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman ; [Gaṅga] Year 204.

These are **three** sheets of copper, with their edges slightly raised in order to protect the writing. They measure 6" by 3½". Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a ring-hole through which the plates slide on to a thick **ring** of copper measuring 3½" in diameter. The ends of the ring were secured and soldered to a circular **seal** which measures 1½" in diameter. It bears in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, the figure of a bull, couchant to right, surmounted by a crescent. Below the bull there is a floral design. The **weight** of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 138 *tolas*. The first and the third

¹ Metre : *Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)* ; and in the following three verses.

² Read *vasēt* [[3*] *iti*.

³ The same person was responsible for drafting the Chicacole (Year 183) and Trilīngi (Year 192) plates of Dēvēndravarman.

⁴ He figures also as a witness in the Chicacole and Trilīngi records of Dēvēndravarman. The Chicacole inscription, however, calls him a *mahattara*, for a note on which term, see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, f. n. 6. Dr. E. Hultzsch's explanation of the first component of his (the witness's) name (above, Vol. III, p. 134, f. n. 3) seems to be unwarranted ; for, Śavara need not always signify the savage tribe. In fact, Śavara is only another name of Śiva who is the object of devotion of the donor of our grant.

⁵ For a note on *bhōgika*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64 ; also Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 100, f. n. 1.

⁶ He also engraved the Chicacole and Trilīngi plates of Dēvēndravarman. The name of the father of the engraver of the latter grant has been misread (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 302) as *Chandrabhōgika*, whereas it is clearly *Khaṇḍichandra* on the facsimile. Cf. plate III (opp. p. 301), wrongly numbered there as 'Plate II (*Reverse*)'.

⁷ This was probably the name of the record-keeper (*akṣhaśālīn*) or some other official at his office. [The reading seems to be *Māgha-dī I.*—B. C. C.]

plates are inscribed on their inner faces only, while the second one contains writing on both of its sides. The inscription consists of thirty-two lines, each of the inscribed faces of the plates containing eight lines of writing.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Ganjām Plates of *Mahārāja Jayavarman*¹ and the Dhanantara Plates² of *Sāmanta-varman*.³

The orthography of the inscription calls for no special remarks. It shows almost the same features as those that occur in the record of *Dēvēndravarman* dealt with under **A** above.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of one imprecatory verse, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription records the gift of the village of *Tālatthēra* situated in the district (*vishaya*) of *Krōshṭukavarttanī*, to the learned *Brāhmaṇa* *Vishṇusūmāhārya* who belonged to the *Pārāsara gōtra* and hailed from *Śrīngāṭikā-agrahāra* in the *Kāmarūpa vishaya*. The occasion for the gift was a marriage ceremony (*kanyādāna*). The donor of the grant was *Mahārāja Anantavarman*, son of *Mahārājādhirāja Dēvēndravarman*, who belonged to the family of the *Gaṅgas (Gāṅga-kula)*. The grant was made at the request of the king's brother, *Jayavarman*.

The date, given in words as well as in figures, is *śukla-trayōdaśī* of the month of *Mārgaśīrsha* of the Year 204 (of the *Gaṅga* era). The engraver was **Kuyāli**, the son of *Nādimachi*.

Of the localities mentioned, the *Krōshṭukavarttanī-vishaya* is mentioned in some of the early and later *Gaṅga* inscriptions.⁴ It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultzsch⁵ with modern *Chicacole*. The *Kāmarūpa-vishaya* may not necessarily signify the famous country of the same name in Eastern India. Perhaps it is just another (hitherto unknown) district of ancient *Kaliṅga*. I am unable to identify at present both this and the *Śrīngāṭikā-agrahāra* as well as the village granted. Besides these, our inscription contains a medley of geographical names (chiefly those of hillocks, etc.) which marked the boundaries of the village of *Tālatthēra*. These, however, seem impossible to identify without a local investigation.

Palaeographically, our inscription is to be referred to the last quarter of the 7th or the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.

¹ Above Vol. XXIII, pp. 261-63 and plates.

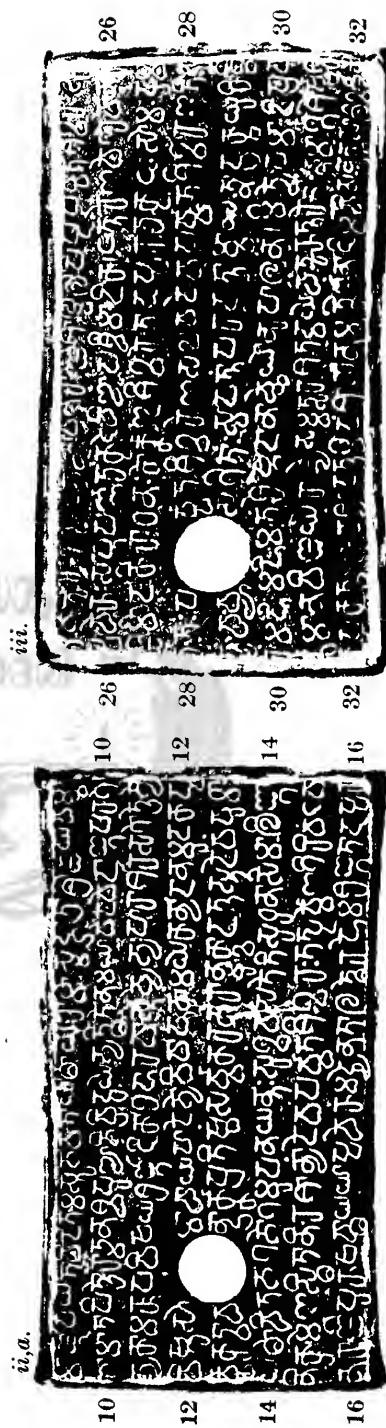
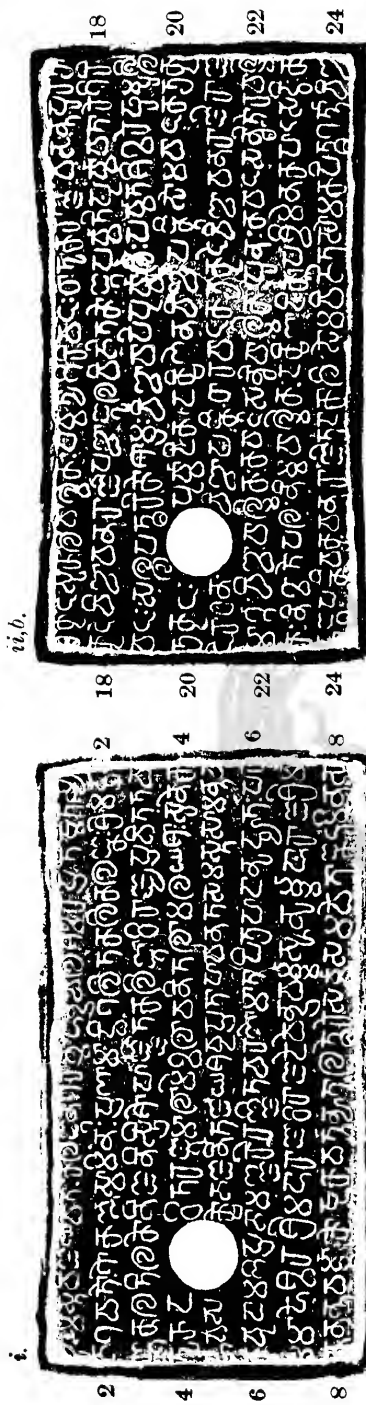
² Above Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff. and plates.

³ Apart from the one under discussion, there is another grant of *Anantavarman*, son of *Dēvēndravarman*, (see *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1918-19, p. 14, No. 8 and *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 188-190 and plates). This record, however, does not seem to be genuine; for, the script appears to be too late for the reign of *Anantavarman*, and further the record, which abounds in gross mistakes in composition, is not dated.

⁴ E. g., *Urlām* plates of *Hastivarman* (Year 89), above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; *Chicacole* plates of *Dēvēndravarman*, father of the donor of the present grant (Year 183), above, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff., etc.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff. [In fact, Dr. Hultzsch has only pointed out that the district of *Krōshṭukavarttanī* also occurs in the *Chicacole* plates of *Dēvēndravarman* but he has not identified it with *Chicacole* as stated by Mr. Ghosh here as well as on p. 196 of Volume XXIV, above. The *vishaya* has, however, been identified by Mr. G. Ramadas with the country to the north of the river *Vamśadhārā* in the *Ganjām District* (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 263).—Ed.]

B.—PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN; [GANGA] YEAR 204.



TEXT.¹

First Plate

- 1 Ōm* Svasti [h*] Vijayavataḥ **Kaliṅganagarān**=Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-pratiṣṭhitasya
 2 bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāmīnaḥ praṇāmād=vigalita-kali-kalaṅkaḥ śrīmad-Gā-
 3 ṅga-kula-tilakō nija-nistri[n*]ś-ōpārjita-Kaliṅg-ādhirāja[h*] pravīrata-cha-
 4 tur-udadhi-taraṅga-mālā-mēkhal-āvanī-tal-āmala-yaśāḥ anēk-ā
 5 hava-saṅkshobha-janīta-jaya-śavda (bda)[h*] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sūmanā-cha-
 6 kra-chūdā-maṇi-prabhā-maṇjarī-raṅgita-charaṇō mātā-pitri-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ para-
 7 mamāhēśvara-śrī-mahārājādhirāja-Dēvēndravarmma-sūnur=mmahārāja-śrīmā-
 8 n-**Anantavarmma** **Krōshṭukavarttanyā**[r*] **Tālatthērō** sarvva-samavētān-ku(n-ku)
 tumvi(mbi)na[h*] sa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 mājnāpayati [i*] Viditam-astu bhavatā[n*] yath=āya[n*] grāmō-smad=bhrātrā-śrī-
 2**Jayavarmma**-
 10 **pā** mātā-pittrōr=ātmanāḥ-cha puny-ābhivri(vri)ddhayē=bhyartthitēna mayā vēda-vēdāṅga-
 pa(pā)ragē-
 11 bhya[h*] **Kāmarūpa-vishaya-Śrīngāṭik**-āgrahāra-vāstavyēbhya[h*] **Pārāśara-sagōt**-
 trē[bhyō]
 12 **Vishṇusōmāchā**[r*]ya-pādēbhyaō vivāha-samayē kanyā-dānam=udaka-pū-
 13 rvaṁ kṛtv-ā-chandir-ārka-pratiṣṭhām sarvva-kara-bharān=muktvā dattas-tad-ēvaṁ
 vudhvā(buddhvā)
 14 yath-ōchita-bha(bhā)gabhōgam-upanayantaḥ sukhaṁ vasat-ēti [i*] adhunā sīmā-līṅgā-
 15 ni kramēṇa sthītāni I(Ai)śānyāni Dēvaparvata-śikharaḥ tat-pūrvvēṇa giri-vaṭa-va-
 16 na-rāji-'puruṣa-echhāyay-āppachēru-maddhyēna Tālatthēra-Hēmaśrīṅga-tādappara[h*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 ttrikūṭē² suruli-vālmīkaḥ pa(pā)rvvatyā(tya)-giriṇaṭaḥ dhātu-karāṇja[h*] Vasantapura-
 tti(tri)-
 18 kūṭē chīṅchā-vana-rāji-paṅchāṅgula-vibhūta[h*] Kōṅga-parvvatē pūrvv-āvatārē giri-
 19 vaṭaḥ salla-pattharē kōśānraḥ chīṅchā vāpi-pūrvv-ālīḥ parvata-śikharē Dumūllī-
 20 tti(tri)kūṭaḥ pūrvvā dika(k) dakṣiṇēna chīṅchā-paṅkti[h*] Sōma-vāṭaka-tti(tri)kū-

¹ From ink-impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ He has been identified by Mr. S. N. Chakravarti (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 261) with *Mahārāja Jayavar-madēva* of a Ganjām grant and by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 386, f. n. 7) with a king of the same name mentioned in another inscription from Ganjām (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 491 ff.).⁴ "This description appears to presuppose the position of the sun at an angle of 45° over the horizon." (above, Vol. III, p. 134, f. n. 1).⁵ According to Dr. Hultzsch "its meaning might be "the point at which three roads meet"; see above, Vol. III, p. 20, f. n. 7.

- 21 tē rādhana-chiñchā-pankti[h*] Dhāra-vāṭaka-ṭṛi(tri)kūṭe chiñchā-vana-rāji-rāja-
 22 mārgga[h] chiñchā-vālmikaḥ Kavāṭa-sandhi-vālmikaḥ punaḥ Kavāṭa-sandhi-tōra-vālmī-
 23 kaḥ nikhāt[-ō]pala[h] nimva(mba)-vālmikaḥ dakṣiṇā dika(k)l paśchimēna Kapāṭa-
 saddhiḥ(ndhiḥ) ku-
 24 ḍuṅga-pank[t*]i[h*] vaku[la*?]-vana-rāji-taṭāk-āli[h*] sōma-vibhīta-sōma-kapittha-garttā
 chiñchā-

Third Plate.

- 25 drumah¹..... chiñchā-vana-rāji-sālmali Pipū-parvvata-sikharah a-
 26 ppachēruḥ saptaparṇa[h*] ṭṛi(tri)kūṭe chiñchā paśchimā dika(k)l uttarēṇa vēṇu-vana-rā-
 27 jī mōdakē rādhanaḥ Kōrkaṇṭa-sikharē tādapparaḥ ṭṛi(tri)kūṭaḥ sōma-druma[s=*]
 28 tataḥ parvvata-sikharēṇa Salavadēva-parvvata-sikhara iti [[*] a-
 29 ttra cha Vyāsa-gītāḥ [[*] Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhi-
 shṭhi-
 30 ra [[*] mahi[m*] mahimatā[m*] śrēshṭha dānāch=chhē(chhrē)yō=nupālanam(nam) | (!!)
 mi(i)ty=ēvam=ādi prava-
 31 rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara-śata-dvayē Chatur-uttarē 204 Mārgaśir-
 shsha-śu-
 32 kla-paksha-ttrayōdaśyām dattam=idam śāsanam=utkirṇam Nādimachi-su(sū)nu-Kuyāli-
 likhinā [[*]

No. 6.—KAMAULI PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, KING OF KANAUJ; V. S. 1184.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This plate belongs to what might be called a remarkable 'hoard' of twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions which were discovered in October 1892 in the village of **Kamauli**, near the confluence of the Barnā and the Ganges at Benares. They have been deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow since July 1893. Three of this lot were studied by Mr. Arthur Venis² and the rest by Dr. F. Kielhorn.³ Of the present record Dr. Kielhorn did not give us the text, but contented himself with furnishing a brief notice.⁴ I now edit the inscription from the excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. I am also indebted to Dr. Chakravarti for generously placing at my disposal an advance proof of a paper from his pen on another Gāhaḍavāla inscription, namely that of Jayachchandra.⁵

This is a **single sheet** of copper measuring 1' 4" by 1' 8" and is engraved on one side only. At the top centre there is a **ring-hole**, about $\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter, through which passed a ring. The circular **seal**, which connected the ends of the ring, measures a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It bears on it in relief on a slightly counter-sunk surface the conventionalised

¹ After this follow some five or six syllables which are too obscure to admit of a definite reading.

² Above, Vol. II, pp. 347 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111, No. I.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 291 ff.

figure of Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu, with the hands folded in devotion. From his wide-spread wings and the poise of his legs, he seems to be in the act of flying. Across the centre of the seal runs the **legend** *Śrīmad-Gōvindachandra(ndra)dēvaḥ*. And below it, in the lower semicircle, is engraved the figure of a conch-shell. The entire margin of the seal is rayed or rather serrated. The plate along with the ring and the seal weighs 359 *tolas*.

The plate contains twenty-five¹ lines of writing. The inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** are the usual Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. Attention may however be called to some of their outstanding features. These are :—(1) initial *a* occurs in line 1, *ā* in ll. 1 and 20, *i* in ll. 8 and 9, *u* in l. 21; (2) examples of consonants *kh*, *gh* and *ḥ* are found in ll. 13, 9 and 25 respectively; (3) the signs for *dh*, *ch* and *v* are sometimes almost identical in form; cf. *vividha* (l. 12), *ādisati cha* (l. 14) and *vasumatī* (l. 5) respectively; (4) the letter *r* shows two forms, cf. e.g. *-āvaruddha-* (l. 8) and *bhaṭṭāraka* (l. 10); (5) similarly the letter *g* has two forms, one of which is looped, cf. *Gōvindachandraḥ* (l. 8) and *-galita-* (l. 7) respectively; (6) signs for conjuncts *dg* and *ng* are hardly distinguishable, e.g. *divaṇ=gatāsu* (l. 2) and *śrīmad=Gādhīpur-* (l. 4); (7) *bh* shows two forms as in *bhāgabhogakara* (l. 20); (8) dental *s* has also two forms, e.g. *āsīd* (l. 1) and *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* (l. 23); (9) medial *ō* is composed in two different ways as in *akunṭh-ōtkanṭha-* (l. 1) and *sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ* (l. 15).

The **numerals** 1, 4, 5, and 8 are contained in the date in line 16. The sign indicating the continuation of an incomplete word at the end of a line consists of one vertical with a slanting stroke to its right.

Among **orthographical features** worth noticing are the following :—(1) both the letters *b* and *v* are invariably indicated by the sign for the latter, (2) the consonants are usually doubled after *r*, (3) the letters *ś* and *s* have been used promiscuously in a number of cases, (4) *anusvāra* is used for a class nasal in many instances as in *śamkhaṁ* (l. 21), *vasumḍharām* (l. 24), (5) final form of *m* occurs in *nijam* (l. 2), *phalam* and *vasumḍharām* (l. 24).

The **language** is Sanskrit. There are altogether fifteen verses, composed in various metres, of which the first praises Viṣṇu and his consort Lakṣmī, the next eight describe the several kings of the dynasty coming before the donor of the grant, and the remaining six are imprecatory and benedictory ones. Barring these, the rest of the inscription is in prose. There are quite a number of errors, both of omission and of commission, in the text, which will be noted in their proper places.

The **inscription** is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-Rājatray-ādhipati Gōvindachandra*, and records that, on the **Manvādi**, **Friday**, the **full-moon** *tithi* of **Kārttika** of the (Vikrama) **Year 1184**, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, he made a gift of the village of **Bhānī**, situated in the *pattalā* called **Maḍavattala**, together with its *pāṭakas*, to the *Mahāpurōhita* **Jāgūsarman**, son of the *Dikshita* Vilhā, and grandson of the *Dikshita* Purushōttama. The donee belonged to the Bandhula *gōtra* having the triple *pravara* of Bandhula-Aghamarshaṇa-Viśvāmitra.² The village was given subject to payment of taxes called *bhāgabhogakara*, *pravaṇikara* and *kūṭaka*³, but inclusive of certain fundamental rights such as mining, fishing, etc. The gift was announced formally in the presence of a number of high officials of the State. The writer of the grant was *Ṭhakkura Viśvarūpa*.

¹ Or rather twenty-six, the last consisting of but six letters.

² He belonged further to the Vājasaneyā *śākhā* (cf. e. g., above, Vol. IV, p. 103, text l. 20; p. 107, text l. 18, etc.).

³ [In fact, these taxes were to be paid to the donee. Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 99.—B.C.C.]

Inscriptions mentioning Gōvindachandra known so far (including the Basāhi,¹ Kamauli² and Rāhan³ plates which speak of him as *Mahārājaputra*) range over a period of Vikrama Samvat 1161-1211 (or A.D. 1104-1154), i.e. exactly fifty years.⁴ The present record of Gōvindachandra belongs to V.S. 1184. There is another record of the same king which also is dated in the same year.⁵

The inscription under discussion does not furnish us with any facts that are already not known except that it refers to one or two new place-names. The genealogy of the donor is given once in verses 2-9 and again in ll. 10-12, this time with the exclusion of Yaśovigraha and Mahāchandra, the first two members of the Gāhaḍavāla family. Mahāchandra's son was Chandradēva who is claimed to have acquired the kingdom of Gādhīpura (i.e., Kanyakubja) by the prowess of his own arm and to have protected 'the holy *tirthas* of Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttara-Kōśala and Indrasthāna after he had acquired them'. The Sēt-Mahēt inscription of Vidyādhara,⁶ which is dated in V.S. 1176, however, as suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray,⁷ somewhat tends to undermine the former claim by reason of the fact that it speaks of two persons, of Rāshtrakūṭa origin, named Gōpāla and Madana, ruling about this time in and about Kanyakubja. In fact, one of them, Gōpāla, is actually called *Gādhīpurādhipa*. It seems that Chandradēva, as claimed in the Basāhi plate⁸ (V. S. 1161), after the death of his two mighty contemporaries, viz., kings Bhōja⁹ and Karṇa,¹⁰ found the time opportune and the field open to extend his influence in the Ganges-Jumna *doab* by establishing his capital at the most fiercely-contested-for city in the whole history of mediaeval India. Shortly afterwards, however, the imperial capital seems to have been lost to the Gāhaḍavāla sovereign, following, presumably, an expedition led by the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler of Kanauj, probably Gōpāla (*Gādhīpurādhipa*) of the Sēt-Mahēt inscription. Madana, the son and successor of Gōpāla, appears however to have soon lost this advantage once for all.

Indeed, Kanyakubja seems to have changed hands again during (the otherwise uneventful) rule of Madanapāla; for as has been recorded in the Basāhi and Kamauli plates, *mahārājaputra* Gōvindachandra made in those years (V.S. 1161-62) gifts of villages situated in the *Jīvati-pattalā* which again was situated in the Pañchāla-dēśa. And Kanyakubja, as is well-known, was the first city of the Pañchāla country. These two records therefore mark the re-passage of Kanauj into the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla kings who from now on held the capital to themselves till almost the end of their dynasty. The Rāshtrakūṭa interregnum in Kanyakubja (during the regime of Gāhaḍavāla kings) may therefore be said to have lasted

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.

² Above, Vol. II, pp. 358 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.

⁴ For a list and *résumé* of all known inscriptions (except one or two that have been discovered latterly) of Gōvindachandra, see H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India: Early Mediaeval Period*, Vol. I, pp. 515-528.

⁵ Viz., Bhadavaṇā grant (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 291 ff.= 'Tālā Inscription', D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 266). Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion (*ibid.*, f. n. 6) that the grant is spurious has been deemed unconvincing by the Editor (*ibid.*).

⁶ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 204. Vidyādhara's father Janaka was according to this inscription the minister (*sachiva*) of Gōpāla.

⁷ *Dynastic Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 507.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.

⁹ He has been variously identified with his famous Paramāra or Gurjara-Pratihāra namesake (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 507, f. n. 1).

¹⁰ Generally identified with the great Kalachuri king Lakshmi-Karṇa.

roughly from 1095 to 1105 A.D., approximately ten years.¹ It was perhaps during this interval that the Gāhaḍavālas moved on temporarily to some other city, possibly as suggested by Dr. V. A. Smith² and then by Dr. H. C. Ray,³ to Benares or some region near to it.

Gōvindachandra, the donor of the present record, succeeded his father Madanapāla on the throne. He is described here as one who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new(*ly acquired*) kingdom' (*navarājya*). This latter term has been taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti⁴ to refer to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra succeeded as a matter of course after his father Madanapāla. On this same expression Dr. Kielhorn observed⁵ that "the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning." This circumstance in our opinion finds a satisfactory explanation in the fact (suggested above) that it was Gōvindachandra who re-established the supremacy of his line over Kanyakubja and the territories depending on it.

It was Gōvindachandra again who, significantly enough, assumed, as in the present instance, first of all the members of his family, "the ambitious titles of *śvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati* originally used by the Kalachuri kings of Dāhala from Lakshmī-Karṇa onwards. This fact acquires an added significance from the evidence furnished by the Bengal Asiatic Society's plates⁷ of Gōvindaachandra (V. S. 1177). This inscription records transference of the gift of a village which was originally granted to another person by the Kalachuri king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, son and successor of Lakshmī-Karṇa. It seems therefore to have been rightly held by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti⁸ that, taking advantage of the favourable turn of events following the death of Lakshmī-Karṇa, Gōvindaachandra "wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from Yaśaḥkarṇa himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by Kalachuri kings".⁹

Of the **localities** mentioned, Kāśi, Uttarakōśala and Indrasthāna have been identified¹⁰ with the present Benares, Ayōdhya and Indraprastha (or Delhi) respectively. Kuśika, Gādhipura and Kanyakubja have generally been identified with one and the same place, *viz.*, modern Kanauj. The village granted and the *pattalā* in which it was situated I am unable to identify.

¹ The earliest date for Chandradēva known so far is 1090 A.D. (*cf.* his Chandrāvati plate, V. S. 1148, above, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.). Taking him to be a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōpāla (for whose son Madana's reign we have a date in 1119-20 A.D. as recorded in the Sēt-Mahēt inscription and who has been rightly supposed to be a feudatory of Gōvindachandra; *cf.* H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 507, f. n. 5), we may reasonably allow him an uninterrupted reign of five years before the imperial capital passed on, though for a short time, to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

² *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 507.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 6.

⁶ Chandradēva, the grandfather of Gōvindachandra, is once (above, Vol. IX, p. 324) referred to as *narapati*, a title which (among others) was also assumed by the Kalachuri king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, who has been supposed by Dr. Ray (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 788) to be a contemporary of Chandradēva. It has indeed been suggested by Dr. Ray (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 508) that the assumption of such a title by Chandradēva may indicate some conflict with the Kalachuri kings. In fact, as has been pointed out by Dr. Ray, Chandradēva claims (above, Vol. XIV, p. 193) to have defeated a *narapati-gajapati*, titles which are assumed by Yaśaḥ-Karṇa himself.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.

⁹ There is also an interesting numismatic evidence which goes to support the contention that Gōvindaachandra extended his dominions at the expense of the Kalachuri rulers of Dāhala (H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 531).

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, f. n. 46.

The date of the record is given, both in words and in decimal figures, as Manvādi, Friday, the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika of the year 1184 and "regularly corresponds, for Vikrama-Samvat 1184 expired, to Friday, the 21st October A.D. 1127".¹

TEXT.²

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 10, 11, 13-15, *Amuṣṭubh*; v. 2, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, *Śrī-tūlarikṛīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*, v. 12, *Śālinī*.]

- 1 Ōm Ōm³ Svasti || Akuṇṭh-ōtkuṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kuṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | saṁraṁbhaḥ sur-at-ārambhē sa Śrīyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || [1*] Āsīd-Āsītadyuti-vaiṁśa-jātaḥ(jāta)-kṣmāpā-
- 2 la-mālāsu divaṁ=gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān-iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yaśōvigraha ity-udāraḥ || [2*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=**Mahichandraś**⁴=chandra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nijam | yēu-ā-
- 3 pa(pā)ram-akūṣhā(pā)ra-pārē vyūpārītaṁ yaśaḥ || [3*] Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō nay-aika-raśi-(si)kaḥ krānta-dviṣaṁ-maṇḍalō vidhvast-ōddhata-vīra-yōdha-tinirāḥ śrī-**Chadra(ndra)-dēvō**⁵ nṛipaḥ | yēn=ōdāratara-⁴
- 4 pratāpa-śamit-āsēsha-praj-ōpadraṁṣam śrīmad=Gādhipur-ādhirājyaṁ-asaman dōr-vvikra-mēṇ=ārjitaṁ || [4*] Tirthāni **Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōsal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni** paripā-
- 5 layat=ābhigamya | hēm=ātma-tulyam=anisa(śa)n=dadatā dvijēbhyō yēn-āṅkitā⁷ vasu-matī śataśas=tulābhiḥ || [5*] Tasy=ātmaḥ **Madanapāla** iti kṣitīndra-chūḍāmaṇī¹-
- 6 r-vvijayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | yasy=ābhishēka-kalāś-ōllasitaiḥ payōbhiḥ prakṣhālitaṁ kali-rajāḥ-pāṭalan-dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē tuṅg-ā-
- 7 chal-ōchchais-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhrasya(śya)n-mahī-maṇḍalē | chūḍāratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styān-āspig-udbhāsitaḥ ⁸Śēshaḥ pēsha-vasā(śā)d-iva kṣhaṇam=asau krō-
- 8 ḍē nilin-ānanaḥ || [7*] Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-vallī-va(ba)ndh-āvaruddha-nava-rajya-gajō narēndraḥ | sāndr-āṁṛita-drava-muchā[m*] prabhavō gavāṁ yō **Gōvinda-chandra** iti cha-
- 9 dra(ndra) iv=āmvu(mbu)rāsē(śē)ḥ || [8*] Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kṣamāṁś-tisriṣhu dikṣhu gajān=atha vajriṇaḥ | kakubhi va(ba)bhrāmur=Abhramuvallabha-pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*] Sō=
- 10 yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ l⁹ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parama-(mē)śvara-paramamāhēśva[ra*]-nija-bhuj-ōpārjji[ta*]]-śrī-Kanyakuñj(bj)-ādhipatya - śrī-Chandradēva-pād-ānu¹-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 111.

² From the ink-impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol. [The first symbol answers to *siddham* or *siddhi=astu*. See above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.—Ed.]

⁴ Here follows a sign for continuation of the word.

⁵ Also called Mahāla (*e. g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.), Mahiyala (*e. g. above*, Vol. II, p. 359, text, l. 2), and Mahītala (*e. g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.). In some records (*e. g., Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15, text, l. 1), it is he who stands at the head of his line instead of Yaśōvigraha.

⁶ He is also known as Chandraditya (above, Vol. XIV, p. 194) and once, simply as Chandra (above, Vol. IX, p. 324).

⁷ The conjunct *āki* in this word seems rather imperfectly engraved on the impression.

⁸ Dr. Kielhorn thinks (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 140, n. 45; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, n. 14, etc.) that this phrase should more properly be read as *Śēshaḥ saisha-vasā=iva*.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

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- 11 dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamā[hē*]śva[ra*]-śrī-Madanapūladēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamā-hēśva-
- 12 r-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvō vijayī **Maḍavattala**-¹ pattalāyām sa-pūṭaka-**Bhāni**-² gra(grā)manivāsi-
- 13 nō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēn-āpati-bhāṇḍāgarik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naipi(mi)ttik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-tu-
- 14 raga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādiśati cha yathā l viditam=astu bhavatām=upari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa³-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ā-
- 15 karaḥ [sa-*]maśy(tsy)-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryanta[h*] s-ōrddhā(rddhv-ā)dhaś-chatur-āghāṭa-visu(su)ddhaḥ sa(sva)-simā-paryantaś=chatur-aśīty-adhika-śat-aikā-
- 16 daśa-samvatsarē Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakṣhē paurṇimāyām Manvādaū Śukra-dinē=ñkē=pi **Samvat 1184** Kārttika-sudi 15 Śukrē śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām śrī-Gaṇḍāyām snātva vidhivan=mantra-dē-
- 17 va-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāms=tarpayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇa-rōchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhipatīsa(śa)kalasēkharam samabhyarchya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēva-
- 18 sya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujām hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-vivridha(ddha)yē tad=ētat=parama-sra(śra)ddhayā samiyatibhūya gōkarṇa-kuśa-la-
- 19 tā-pūta-kara-tal-ōḍaka-pūrvam=asmābhir=Vvadhu(Bandhu)la-gōtrāya Vamdhū(Bandhu)l-Āghama(rsha)ṇa-Viśvāmitra-triḥ(tri)-pravarāya dikshita⁴-śrī-Purushōttama⁵-pautrāya dikshita-śrī-Vilhā⁶-putrāya mahāpurō-
- 20 hita-śrī-**Jāgūsa(śa)rmmaṇē**⁷ ā-chandr-ārkaṁ śāsanīkrītya pradattō matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-pravanīkara-kūṭaka-prabhṛiti-samast-ādāyān-ājñāvidhēyibhūya
- 21 dāsyatha [*] Bhavanti ch=ātra puṇya-ślōkāḥ || Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihnā(hnā)ti yas-tu bhūmim prayachchhati l ubhau tau puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau(tam) [sva]rgga-gāminau || [10*] Śaṁkham bhadr-āsanam chchha(chha)-

¹ Dr. Kielhorn doubtfully read this word (above, Vol. IV, p. 111) as 'Maḍavala (?)'. But there is a trace of *ta* (rather weakly engraved) between *va* and *la*. Compare this *ta* with the same sign in *pattalāyām*.

² This word was hesitatingly read by Dr. Kielhorn (above, Vol. IV, p. 111) as 'Rāri (?)'. Unfortunately the two letters have been engraved in a slovenly manner and in a smaller size. It seems, however, possible to read the second letter as *ni*. As regards the first it may well be a disjointed *pā*, or as I have surmised, *bhā*.

³ For a note on the terms *jala-sthala*, etc., see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 73 ff.

⁴ "This word is explained to denote persons who or whose ancestors have performed a great sacrificial ceremony, such as a *jyōtiṣṭōma*." (Above, Vol. IV, p. 98, f. n. 7.)

⁵ He is also called *Purāsa*. (Above, Vol. IV, p. 103, text l. 21; p. 107, text l. 18; p. 109, text l. 19, etc.)

⁶ He is otherwise known as *Vilhāka* (above, Vol. II, p. 360, text l. 13) and *Vēdaśarman* (above, Vol. IV, p. 121, text l. 26).

⁷ He is apparently the same as *Purōhita Jāguka* who served under Gōvindachandra's father *Madanapāla* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) No less than ten copper-plate inscriptions from Kamauli record grants made in favour of this high priest. He is variously called *Mahādīkshita Mahāpurōhita Jāgū* (above, Vol. IV, p. 117, l. 18 and p. 120, No. P.), *Jāguka* (*ibid.*, p. 103, l. 21) and *Jāguka* (*ibid.*, p. 107, l. 19). He is also once (*ibid.*, p. 126, No. T.) referred to as *Yājñavalkya* in an inscription of Jayachandra.

- 22 traṁ var-āśvā vara- vāhaṇā(nā)ḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chilnāni phalam-ātata-Purandara || [11*]
 Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthivēndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || (†)
 sāmānyō=
- 23 yaṁ dharmmasētur¹=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [12*] Va(3a)hubhir=
 vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā |²
- 24 phalam || [13*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām | sa vishṭhāyām
 kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || [14*] Gām-ēkām hiraṇyam=ēkām cha³ bhū-
 mi(mē)r=apy=ēkam=aṅgulaṁ |
- 25 haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad-āha(hū)ta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [15*] Thakkura-śrī- Viśva-
 rūpēṇa tāmva(mra)paṭṭō=yaṁ likhitam=idam⁴ nṛip-ājñay=ēti | Maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ ||⁵
- 26 ||
 | ||

NO. 7.—BARIPADA MUSEUM PLATE OF DEVANANDADEVA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of the Raja and Ruling Chief of the Dhenkanal State, Orissa. In 1930 the late Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguly of Calcutta got it from him and deposited it in the Archæological Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj State. I am thankful to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archæologist of Mayurbhanj, for kindly allowing me to edit it.

It is a **single plate** inscribed on both sides; the first side containing seventeen lines and the second eighteen lines of writing. When handed over to me, it was found to have been covered with a thin coat of verdigris and consequently some portions of the writing were quite illegible. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, who had the opportunity to examine the plate, very kindly arranged its cleaning by chemical treatment and also sent me an excellent set of inked impressions. To Dr. Chhabra I also owe a number of useful suggestions in preparing this article. The transcript given by me is based on the original as well as on the inked impressions. The inscription is, on the whole, in good preservation except that the first and the last lines of the first side and the first four and the last two lines of the second side have been very much corroded. The letters are deep-cut and well-formed. The plate measures 11"×6". It has a **seal** attached to its left-hand side, which measures 2¾" in diameter, resembles in form a full-blown lotus exhibiting two rows of petals and contains a medallion superimposed on the inner row of the same. Inside the medallion, the inner diameter of which is about 1¾", occur in relief the figures of a couchant humped bull, of a crescent with a star almost touching its hump and of a club-shaped object below its mouth, while underneath the bull there runs in one line the legend *śrī-Dēvānandadēvasya* underlined with two parallel straight lines, and at the bottom there occurs, also in relief, the figure of an expanded lotus flower. The plate together with the seal weighs about 143 tolas.

¹ The technical word *dharmasētu* occurs for the first time in some of the inscriptions of Śātavāhana kings from Nasik (cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, l. 11; p. 65, l. 13, etc.). According to Dr. E. Senart (*ibid.*, p. 64), "*Dharmasētu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period, denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit', which enables its author to get over the ocean of *samsāra*".

² This *danḍa* is unnecessary.

³ This line of the verse has one syllable in excess. Read *gām=ēkām svarṇam=ēkām cha* as elsewhere.

⁴ Read either *tāmrapaṭṭō=yaṁ likhitō* or *tāmrapaṭṭē likhitām=idam*.

⁵ Here follows what appears to be a trisyllabic mystic formula, cited thrice, the reading and meaning of which I am unable to offer.

The **characters** belong to the northern type of alphabet and closely resemble in form those of the Ganjām plate of Daṇḍimahādēvi of the year 180¹. We have here examples of the initial vowels *ā* in *Ārchhanānasa*, l. 29; *i* in *iti*, l. 9; and *ai* in *Airāvatta*, l. 24; as well as of the consonants *jh* in *-jhaṅkāriṇī*, l. 4; *dh* in *gōdhā*, l. 22. The letter *n* shows two different forms, as in *n=aiva*, l. 3; and in *vanē*, l. 4. No distinction has been made in the form of medial *u* and *ū*, as may be exemplified by the words *sphurita-* and *śūra-*, l. 5, while the medial *u* is represented by two different signs as is seen in *suvisuddha-*, l. 6. In many instances the superscript *r* is not clearly marked.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. The text contains some mistakes of spelling as well as of grammar, which have been pointed out in their proper places. As regards **orthography**, the following peculiarities deserve notice: (1) A consonant after *r* is usually reduplicated; (2) *s* has been used for *ś* in many places, e.g. in *suvisuddha-*, l. 6 and *-rachanaś=chandr-*, l. 15; (3) *n* has been employed for *anusvāra* in *tivrāṇśumālī*, l. 11; (4) *b* is represented by the sign for *v*; (5) in some cases *sandhi* has not been observed, e.g. *śrīmān=Jayānanda*, ll. 2-3, (6) sign of *avagraha* has been used in *yō='bhūt*, l. 8.

The record does not contain any date, but the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva², having the introductory portion identical with that of the present one, records a date at the end of the inscription. Mr. A. Banerji-Sastri, the editor of this grant, has not been able to give the correct reading of the text. His reading of the date is also erroneous. The record has been re-edited and further commented upon by Mr. N. Tripathi³, but he has also failed to interpret the date. He first explained the symbols for the date as representing $200+80+3(=283)$, and later as $200+80+1(=281)$. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has given this date as the year 293 and has suggested to refer it to the Harsha era⁴. If this view is accepted, and there is no reason to reject it, the date in question would correspond to A.D. 899, which would roughly be the date of the present inscription as well.

The inscription opens with a description of the place of issue of the grant, the name of which has inadvertently been omitted by the scribe but may be ascertained from the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva as being **Jayapura**. Then the lines 2-24, mostly composed in verse, give a genealogical account, beginning with Jayānanda and ending with Dēvānanda, in course of which the qualities and the achievements of the rulers have been poetically described. The **object** of the inscription has, then, been set forth, which was to record the grant by the king Dēvānanda of the village Lambēva⁵, situated in the *viskaya* of *Pōṭṭā* in the *Airāvatta maṇḍala*, to one *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara, son of Ādityadhara, who belonged to the *Kāṇva-śākhā* of the White Yajurveda, and to the *Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra*, and was a member of the *Bhaṭṭa* community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, originally hailing from Puṇḍravarddhana.

As to the family of the donor, it is called Nandōdbhava⁶ or simply Nanda, as may be inferred from the terms *Nand-ōdbhava-vamśa*, and *Nanda-kula* occurring in l. 2 and l. 17 respectively.

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 137 ff.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff. and plates; Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2043.

³ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 457 ff. and Vol. XVII, pp. 196-7.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2043.

⁵ [See below p. 79, n. 5.—Ed.]

⁶ A similar instance is found in the name Śailōdbhava.

Mr. Tripathi concludes from these expressions (also occurring in Dhruvānanda's plate) that the family of Jayānanda was an offshoot of the Imperial Nandas of Magadha¹. But this conclusion does not seem to have been based on sufficient data. What seems to be probable is that the suffix *ānanda* was peculiar to the names of this family as *tuṅga*, *kara*, *stambha* and the like were peculiar to the names of some other royal families of Orissa. And, as these suffixes gave distinct names to these families, the suffix *ānanda* did the same in the case of the royal family of Jayānanda. The confusion between *nanda* and *ānanda* seems to have been one as between *kara* and *ākara*, illustrated in the case of the Kara family of Orissa, in which the second component part of some names is not *kara*, but *ākara*, e.g. Śubhākara. This Nanda family of Orissa is not known from any other source except from the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva referred to above, and the present record. With the help of the genealogies given in these two charters, we can construct the following genealogical table of this family :—

Jayānanda
|
Parānanda
|
Śivānanda
|
Dēvānanda, surnamed Vilāsatuṅga.
|
Dhruvānanda, surnamed Vilāsatuṅga.

It should be noted in this connection that though the relation between the first four members has been specifically mentioned as that of father and son, the same between Dēvānanda and Dhruvānanda is not clear from their records. At any rate, that Dhruvānanda was a successor of Dēvānanda is evident from his plate which mentions his name after that of Dēvānanda².

As has been said above, the name of **Jayapura**, the description of which occurs in the opening part of the inscription, has probably been omitted through the carelessness of the scribe.

¹ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 469.

² [Mr. Panigrahi seems to have mixed up the genealogies given in the two records. Moreover, the present inscription apparently mentions two Dēvānandas, while Mr. Panigrahi obviously takes these two as referring to one and the same person. Below are given, for the sake of comparison, the genealogical lists as supplied by the Talmul plate and the present inscription.

Talmul Plate

Jayānanda
|
Parānanda
|
Śivānanda
|
Dēvānanda
|
Vilāsatuṅga-Dhruvānanda.

Baripada Museum Plate

Jayānanda
|
Parānanda
|
Śivānanda
|
Dēvānanda (I)
|
Vilāsatuṅga-Dēvānanda (II).

While Dhruvānanda is said to be *Paramasaugata*, Dēvānanda (II) is stated to be *Paramamāhēśvara*; otherwise their descriptions agree word for word. The apparent relation between Dhruvānanda and Dēvānanda (II) is that of brothers, one professing the Buddhist faith, the other adhering to the Śaiva creed, though the seals of both of them bear a *Nandī* emblem. In this case, we will have to admit that Dēvānanda (II) is called after his father's name, which is improbable though not impossible, considering the case of five Maitraka kings of the name of Śilāditya (III—VII), of whom each succeeding one was a son of the preceding one; see Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 394,—B. C. C.]

This place, presumably the capital of the Nanda family of Orissa, has been identified with Jaipur¹ of the Cuttack district by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri and with Jeypur or Jeypore², the headquarters of a big estate of the same name in the newly constituted Koraput district of Orissa, by Mr. N. Tripathi. Both of these identifications are open to serious objections. As *Jaipur* cannot be regarded as a corruption of *Jayapura*, and as it was known as *Virajā*³ in the eighth or ninth century A. D., when it was held as capital by the Bhauma kings of Orissa, the identification proposed by Dr. Banerji-Sastri should be ruled out of consideration. As regards Mr. Tripathi's proposed identification, though no objection can be taken to it from phonetic point of view, several considerations prevent us from taking it as conclusive. On an examination of the place-names mentioned in this grant and others, it is revealed that *Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala* which included the *vishaya* of *Pōtōḍā* has been mentioned in the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadeva and also in the Balijhari plates of Uddyōtakēśari Mahābhavagupta⁴. This *maṇḍala* must be taken to have comprised a tract of land along the Mahānadi river in view of the fact that the gift village Kōntalaṇḍā, mentioned in the last-named charter, has pointedly been spoken of as situated on the bank of that river. So, if Jayapura is to be taken identical with Jeypur of the Koraput District, we have to suppose that the territories ruled over by Dēvānanda and Dhruvānanda extended far to the south-west of the Mahānadi river on the north. But their dominion over such vast territories is not warranted by their records which do not even give the title of *mahārāja* before their names, nor mention a single conquest to their credit. They must have been feudatories of some paramount power in Orissa as is indicated by their titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Samadhiḡatapañchamahāśabla Mahāsāmāntādhipati*. Besides, Jayānanda, the first known ruler of the family, probably the founder of the dynasty, has been credited with the conquest of the whole of Gōndrama, which, as will be shown below, meant the hilly tracts now ruled over by the feudatory chiefs of Orissa, but never any tract along the Bay of Bengal. The last but not the least important is the fact that if these plates of the Nanda family were issued from Jeypur of the Koraput district, it is rather strange that the southern influence so conspicuous on the copper-plates issued from Kaliṅganagara and Śvētaka should have been completely absent from the palaeography of their records. I should, therefore, suggest the identification of Jayapura of our records with Jaipur, a village situated in the Dhenkanal State from which and from the adjoining Narasinghpur State all the three copper-plate grants mentioning the name of *Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala* are reported to have hailed. Jayapura, as its name suggests, was possibly founded by Jayānanda, the first ruler of the Nanda family.

Among the other geographical names occurring in the inscription, *Gōndrama*, which is also mentioned in four other copper-plate inscriptions of Orissa⁵, is always found in conjunction with *sakala* 'all', and in one plate with *ashṭādaśa* 'eighteen'. It is thus clear that it was a geographical expression meaning a group of eighteen tracts of land and seems to be the same as *ashṭādaś-ātavi-rājya* (eighteen forest chiefdoms) of the Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha.⁶ The name *ashṭādaśa Gōndrama* applied to these tracts was probably due to the predominance of the Gond tribe over other aboriginal tribes inhabiting these parts and seems to have survived in the geographical expression *aḥara gaḍh-jāt* still applied to all the feudatory states of Orissa by the people, though as a matter of fact their number at present is not eighteen but twenty-four. It should be

¹ J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XV, p. 89.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 457 ff.

³ Pt. B. Misra. *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 89.

⁴ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII, p. 17, text l. 33, Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2076.

⁵ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 402 (text l. 18), 406 (text l. 9) and 418 (text ll. 1-) and Vol. VI, p. 239 (text i. 13).

⁶ Above Vol. VIII, p. 287 (text l. 9) and discussion on p. 286.

noted in this connection that the credit of having conquered the whole of Gōndrama given to Jayānanda in this record may just be an exaggeration. **Airavātṭa**, after which the *vishaya* of that name was called, has been identified with Raṭāgarh in the Banki Police Station of the Cuttack district¹. **Pōtōḍā** and **Lambēva** may provisionally be identified with Pōṭal in the Hindol State and Limbu in the Narasinghpur State respectively. Puṇḍravarddhana is the well-known ancient name for North Bengal. I cannot suggest any identification for Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura.

TEXT.²

Obverse.

- 1 Ōm³ svasty=akalita-kali-kāla-kalmasha-pravēś-āvakāśād=vijit-āsēś-Ōjjyani-guṇa-nikarāt [Jayapurāt*]⁴ ||
- 2 Va(Ba)bbūva **Nand-ōdbhava-va(vam)**śa-sambhavaḥ sva-vikram-ākrānta-samasta-Gōndramaḥ ||(l) dharādhipō dhamma(rmma)dharah sudhīmān-śrīmān-**Ja-**
- 3 **yānanda** iti pravīrah || [1*]⁵ Yasmin=rājani dīnam=akshara-yugan-dēh-īti n=aiṇa śrutam n=ātānkā[h*] kuṣṭiṭi⁶ kutō na cha
- 4 mṛishā dvandvan=na ch=āsīn=nṛiṇāḥ(nām) ||(l) śa[rvvaryyā]m ava(ba)lā sahāya-vikal=ālaṅkāra-jhaṅkāriṇi kshivā yāty=ajanē vanē ya-
- 5 di puna=vvā(r=vvā)[rttā] Dilipē nṛipē || [2*]⁷ Kanaka-ruchira-kāntiḥ prōnnataḥ pūrit-āsah sphurita-vimala-ratnaḥ śūra-dulla(rlla)ṅghya-mūtti(rtti)ḥ || [1*]
- 6 vu(bu)dha-jana-nuta-pādō Mēru-vat-tasya sākshāt=priyatama-tanayō-bhūch=chhi(ch=chhri)-**Parānanda**-nāma(mā) || [3*]⁸ Tasya(sy=ā)pi ch=āsīt=suvisu(śu)ddha-
- 7 pakshō vasañ=janānām khalu mānasē cha [1*] hansō(haṁsō) yathā hansa(haṁsa)-[samā*]-na-kīrtti[r*]=nnāmnā **Śivānanda** iti prasiddha-
- 8 ḥ || [4*]⁹ Tasy=ābhūt=tanayas=trīṇikṛita-ripu-vrāta-jvalat-pāvakō vā(bā)l-aiṇāṅka iv=ānvay-āmva(mba)ra-gatō yō=’bhūtsri(t=pri)-
- 9 ya[h*] prāpinām(nām) ||(l) tāra(ru)ṇyē taruṇi-vilōchana-putair=āpita-rūp-āmṛitō **Dēvā-**
nanda iti prasiddhim=aga-
- 10 mad=yaḥ svair=guṇair=nni[r]mmalaiḥ || [5*]⁷ Durvvār-āri-kar-indra-kumbha-dalanē sphūjja-(rjja)t-karaḥ kēsari śaśvan=māna-
- 11 vati-mukh-āvja(bja)-jayakṛit=tivrāṇśu(vrāṇśu)māli sadā ||(l) tasmād=ēva **Vilā[sa*]tuṅ-**
ga-nṛipatibhū(r-bhū)tas=satām=agraṇi-
- 12 ya(r-ya)sy=ōchchaiḥ sa(śa)rad-indu-dhāma-dhavalam nityam yasō(śō) varddhatē || [6*]⁷
Nakshatr-āvali-hāra-dāmakavatī nitya(tyam)
- 13 nabhō-mandirē jōsnā(jyōtsnā)-chandana-lē[pa]n-ātīdhavalā sānd(ṇdr)-āndhakār-āmva(mba)-
rā [1*] [ya*]sy=ōtu(ttu)ṅga-sudhā-gri-
- 14 hē-tīdhavalē dig-yōshitān=darppañē sva(svam) rūpamva(m va)ra-kāmin=īva rajanī chandr-
ānanā pasya(śya)ti || [7*]⁷ Yasy=ō-

¹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII, p. 4.

² From the original and inked impressions.

³ Represented by a symbol.

⁴ This name has been supplied here from Dhruvānanda's plate, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XV, p. 90.

⁵ Metre : Upajāti.

⁶ Read *kuśrutih* or *kuṣṭiṭih*.

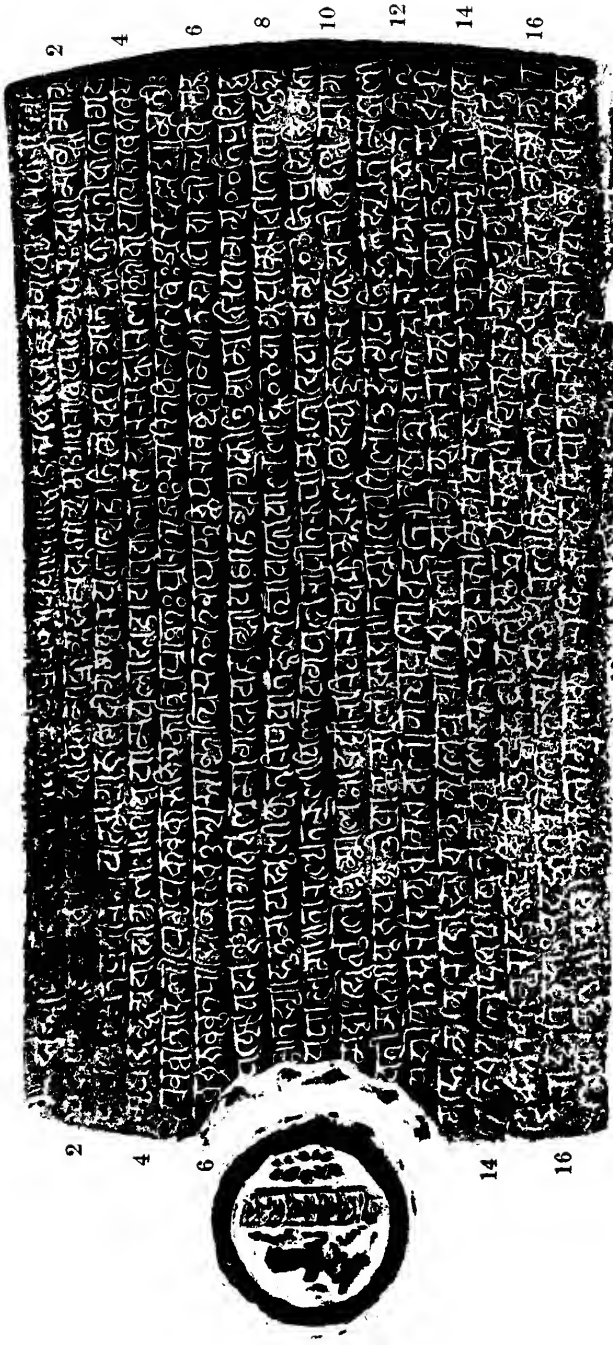
⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁸ Metre : Mālinī.

⁹ Metre : Upajāti.

BARIPADA MUSEUM PLATE OF DEVANANDADEVA.

Obverse.



P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE. SEVEN TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reverse.

18

20

22

24

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34

- 15 chchail̥ sita-mandirā[ḍ-dhva]ja-disi(śi) prōtu(ttu)ṅga-haṭṭ-āvali su(su)bhrā chāru-sudhā-
vikāra-rachanaś(ś)=chandr-ātapa-sparddhinī |
- 16 dūrād=bhāti dṛisaḥ(sah) padañ=gatavati lōkasya sa[ñchā]rṇō ni(ni)hārōtkarabhūdhārād=
iva sa(sa)nair-Mmandāki-
- 17 [nī syandati]¹ || [8*]² Sa sṛī(śrī)-**Nanda-kul**-āmva(mbu)j-ākara-raviḥ sad-vamśa(śa)-
dipā(dipō) nṛipās(ś)=chand-ārātī(ti)-vadhū-mukh-āvja(bja)-sasa(śaśa)-

Reverse.

- 18 [bhṛid-rakt-ānta-dīrgh-ēkshaṇaḥ] — — — ○ — — — pulakikurvvan=jana[ñ-chē]shṭitaiḥ
satya-tyāga-ka(ku)lābhi-
- 19 [māna-vi]ṇayā yasy=āṅgajāḥ sad-guṇāḥ || [9*]³ Dīpyat-pratāp-ā[na]la-[plusṭ-ārā]ti-mūrttiś=
chatur-ambhōdadhi⁴-paryanta-bhrānta-
- 20 [sat-kīrtti]ya(r=ya)th-ō[chi]ta-[paryyavasthā]pita-varṇa-cha[tu*]shṭayaḥ p ū r i t ā ś ē s h a
praṇayi-jana-manōrathaḥ sajjana-jan-ā-
- 21 [na]nda-dāyī rakt-āmva(mba)ra-pramaṇḍita-kaladhauta-dōllikā-chāmara-pralamvi(mbi)ta-
prānta-krōḍa dēśa-vinyasta-mayūra-cha-
- 22 ndrikā-nikara-sita-chchhatr-āvabhāsamāna-sita-dhātumaya-gōdhā-si(śi)kharikṛita- l ō h i t a
lōchan-āmva(mba)ra-dhva[ḥ*] pa-
- 23 ramamāhēśvara- matā-piṭri-pād-ānudyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-s a m a d h i g a t a - p a ṇ c h a
mahāśavda(bda)-mahāsūma-
- 24 ntādhipati-śrī-**Dēvānandaśōvaḥ** kuśalī Airāvātṭa-maṇḍala-samva(mba)ddha-Pōtōḍā-
vishayē bhavishyad-yathā-
- 25 kālā-bhāvinō rājakāna⁴ rāja-putrā[n*] Vṛā(brā)hma[ṇa*]-purōgān=sāmantān=nivāsi-janapa-
dān=adhikāriṇaḥ sa-ka-
- 26 raṇān=anyā[ñi]ś=cha chāta-bhata-vallabha-jāti(tī)yañ=rāja-pād-ōpajivinaḥ sarvvān=yath-
ārham mānayati vō(bō)dhayati kuśa-
- 27 layaty=ādīśati ch=ānyata(t)[i*] Viditam=astu bhavatām=ētaḍ-vishaya-samva(mba)[ddha-*]
Lamvē(mbē)va⁵-grām-ōḍaya⁶ sa-jala-stha[laḥ*]
- 28 sa-gartt-āvaskara[ḥ*] prajñāyamāna-chatu[ḥ*]-simā-paya(rya)ntaḥ Puṇḍa(ṇḍra)varddhana-
vinirggata-Jamva(mba)ma-Nārāyaṇapura-Bhata(tṭa)-
- 29 sāmānya-Kāṇva-śākha-Yajurvēdī(di)-Kṛishṇātrē[ya-gōtrāya*] Ārchchanānasa-Ś ā v ā ś ē t i -
hōtā⁷ richavāvasa-vaṭ dityadhvaya⁸
- 30 Ādityaddh(dha)ara-sutaś=cha Śaktiddha(dha)ra-suta-Vasma(Brahma?)ddhara-bhāṭaḥ⁹ ||¹⁰
mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛi-

¹ This reading is clear in Dhruvānanda's plate. The correct form of the last word is *syandamānā*.

² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Read *ambhōdhi*.

⁴ Read *rājanakān* as in the Talmul plate.

⁵ [The reading seems to be *Lamvē(bē)da*.—B. C. C.]

⁶ [Possibly the intended reading is *-grāmō- 'yam*.—B. C. C.]

⁷ [This evidently refers to the *tryārshēya Pravara* of the donee, and is to be corrected as *Atrēy-Arch-
chanānasa-Śyāvāśv-ēti hōtrē*. Compare *Gōtrapravarānibandhakadamba*, p. 57.—B. C. C.]

⁸ The sense after *hōtā* is not clear.

⁹ We have probably to amend the reading as *Ādityadhara-sutasya Śaktidharasya sūtāya Brahmadhara-chaṭṭāya*.

¹⁰ This sign of punctuation is not needed.

- 31 ddhayē tāmva¹-śāsanēna pradattō=smābhiḥ[||*] yatas=tāmva¹-śāsana-darśanād=asmakā(t-
kā)ry-ā[nu*]rōdhāja(d=ya)thā-kāla-
- 32 [phala]-niyam-ōpabhujyamānā(na)[sya*] na kēn=āsa pata(ri)panthī(nthi)nā bhā(bha)vitavya-
[m] [||*] Mā[bhū*]d=aphala-sam(śam)kā vaḥ para-da-
- 33 tt=ēti pārthiva(vāḥ) [||*] sva-datā(ttā)[t*] pha[la]m=āna[ntyam] para-datt-[ānupālānē] [||*]
Sva-dattā[m=para=dattā*]m=vā yō harēta vasundharām [||*] sa vī(vi)shṭhā[yām*] [kṛi]-
- 34 [mir=bhūtvā] pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē [||*] [Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rāja][bhiḥ Sagar-
ādibhiḥ*] yasya yasya [yadā*] [bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam] [||*] [Iti]
- 35 [kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vindu-lōlām²]

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Ōm. Hail! From [Jayapura] which is exempted from the ingress of vices of the Kali Age and has surpassed all the qualities of Ujjayani.

(Verse 1) There was born in the **Nandōdbhava** family a virtuous, extremely intelligent and surpassingly heroic king named **Jayānanda**, who, by dint of his own valour, subjugated the whole of Gōndrama.

(V. 2) It was during his kingship that the poor twin letters *dēhi* (i.e. 'give') were never heard; no diseases, no fraud from anywhere and no false quarrel ever occurred among the people, (so much so that even) a drunken woman, with her ornaments jingling, could pass through a desolate forest at night unescorted (without being molested by any robber on the way), whereas such (a state of perfectly good rule) is ascribed to king Dilipa.³

(V. 3) He had a son, most beloved to him, the illustrious **Parānanda** by name, who, being of splendid golden complexion, dignified, having his ambitions fulfilled, bedecked with glittering flawless jewels, his person being unassailable by warriors, (and) deeply honoured by the learned, evidently resembled the Mēru (mountain) which is (likewise) endowed with pleasing brilliance on account of its gold, is very lofty, has occupied large space, is possessed of sparkling pure gems, with its bulk unscalable by adventurers (and) its foot frequented by the gods.

¹ Read *tāmra*.

² Only some traces of the rest of the verse are to be seen on the plate; it may be supplied as *śriyam=anu-chintya manushya- jivitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha buddhvā nahi purushaiḥ para-kṛtlayō vilōpyāḥ ||*

³ Every word in the passage *śarvaryām*, etc., has a special significance. Thus *śarvaryām* = at night, an opportune time for committing robbery; *abalā* = woman, literally 'powerless one' whom it is easy to assail or overpower; *sahāya-vikalā* = without any escort or companion, so that the crime can be perpetrated without any fear of immediate detection; *alanākāra-jhaṅkāriṇī* = her ornaments making a jingling noise, thereby assuring a handsome booty; *kshivā* = drunken, thus too senseless to offer any resistance; *ajanē vanē* = in a jungle where there is no human being near by, so that there is no rescuing even if the victim shouts for help.

The author of the inscription indulges in poetic fancy, asserting that Jayānanda's virtues have mistakenly been attributed to Dilipa. The description of Dilipa alluded to is echoed in the following verses:

Yasmin mahīm śāsati vāṇinām nidrām vihar-ārdha-pathē gatānām |

Vātō-pi n=asramsayad=amśukāni kō lambayēd=āharanāya hastam ||

(*Raghuvamśa*, VI, 75).

Na kil=ānuyayus=tasya rājānō rakshitur=yasāḥ |

Vyāvṛittā yat=para=svēbhyaḥ śrutau taskaratā sthitā ||

(*Ibid.*, I, 27).

Trayaḥ śabdā na jīryantē Dilīpasya nivēsanē |

Śvādhyāya-ghōṣhō jyā-ghōṣhō dīyatām= iti vai trayaḥ ||

(*Mahābhārata*, XIII (*Śāntiparvan*), 29, 79).

The last verse rather presents a contrast: with Dilipa a request never passed unfulfilled, while in Jayānanda's reign it never came to utter a request.

(V. 4) He, too, had a son, who was well-known by the name of **Śivānanda**, had faithful allies, and verily won the hearts of his people (*and*) whose fame shone forth like the sun, (*who was thus*) quite as a swan with pure white wings, dwelling in the Mānasa (*lake*).

(V. 5) He had a son, called **Dēvānanda**, who proved a veritable blazing fire to his enemies reduced to the state of straw, who, having ascended in the sky of his family, like a new moon endeared himself to (*all*) beings, whose nectar of beauty, in youth, maidens drank to their heart's content using their eyes as goblets, (*and*) who acquired renown through his stainless qualities.

(V. 6) He was a roaring lion in tearing asunder the frontal globes of the great elephants of the irresistible enemies and was always a sun in winning over the lotus-like faces of zealous women. On that account the present king was (*known*) as *Vilāsatuṅga*. He is the foremost among the pious and his fame, as white as autumnal moon-light, is intensely increasing everyday.¹

(V. 7) The night having moon as her face, dense darkness as her garment, stars as a string of necklace, and appearing excessively fair due to the besmearing of sandal paste of moon-light, beholds, just like a beautiful woman in the chamber of the sky, her own image in his lofty and extremely white palace, which is a mirror to the ladies of the quarters.

(V. 8) From his white palace, towards the banners, the beautiful and white row of tall shops, on account of their whitewash, becoming a rival to the moon-light, looked at from a distance by the people moving about, appears like the Ganges gently flowing down from the Himālaya mountain.

(V. 9) This king, the light of the noble family, is a very sun to the lotus-lake (*in the form*) of the prosperous Nanda family, is a very moon to the lotuses that are the faces of his fierce enemies' wives, having large eyes with red ends.....excessively delighting the people with his doings. Truth, charity, family-pride and humility are his inborn good qualities.

(Ll. 19-24) The illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāsāmantādhipati Dēvānandadēva*, who has through the blazing fire of his prowess consumed the bodies of his enemies, whose good fame has travelled as far as the four oceans, who has placed the four *varṇas* in their proper positions, fulfilled the desires of all the suppliants, gives delight to the virtuous men, who has a cloth-banner (*with the emblem*) of the red-eyed snakes wearing on their heads the alligators made of white

¹ [Mr. Panigrahi's above rendering of this verse seems to be responsible for the confusion he has made in the genealogy. It may be pointed out that the author has used the past tense in describing the first four rulers, while in the case of Vilāsatuṅga he employs the present tense, thereby indicating that the charter was issued by Vilāsatuṅga who has clearly been spoken of as *tasmād*.....*bhūtaḥ* 'who has been born from him (*i.e.* from Dēvānanda)'. This Vilāsatuṅga and the second Dēvānanda mentioned in l. 24 have been taken by me as referring to one and the same person because the descriptive attributes place them in apposition to each other and there is no such word used as *tasmāt* or *tasya* to indicate their relation otherwise.

The sixth verse may thus be explained as follows: "It was from him that the king Vilāsatuṅga has been born, who, clapping his hands, appears a very lion for tearing asunder the frontal globes of his enemies' huge elephants that are difficult to check, who always wins over a repeatedly offended lady (*as easily*) as the sun causes a lotus-bud to unfold, who ranks foremost among the virtuous (*and*) whose glory, as bright as the light of autumnal moon, ever grows further and further."—B. C. C.]

metal, that floats on the white umbrella held over the golden litter covered with red cloth, inlaid with peacock feathers in its inner side and with *chowries* hanging down (*from it*),¹ who is a devout worshipper of Śiva, who has acquired (*title to*) the five *mahāśublas* (and), who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, being in good health ;

(Ll. 24-32) duly honours, intimates to, enquires after the health of and commands all those that will in course of time be, (*viz.*) chiefs, princes, all the inhabitants of the country headed by Brāhmaṇas, feudatories, functionaries along with the *kaṇṇas*, and others of the class of *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭṭa* and *Vallabha*, dependent on the king, in the Pōtōḍā *vishaya* included in the Airāvāṭṭa *maṇḍala*: “Be it known to you that the income² of the village *Lambēva*³, along with its land and water, along with its pits and their contents, included in this *vishaya* (*of Pōtōḍā*), up to the four well-known boundaries, has been granted by Us, by means of a copper-plate charter, for the increase of the glory and religious merit of Our parents and of Ourselves, to *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara, son of Ādityadhara, hailing from Puṇḍravardhana, a member of the Bhaṭṭa community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, a student of the Kaṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda, belonging to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, a *hōtrī* having (*the triple pravara of*) [*Ātrēya*-]Ārchanaṇasa-Śyāvāśva, Wherefore, seeing this copper charter and having regard for our deed, nobody should cause any obstruction to him while he is regularly enjoying the seasonal yields (*of the gift*). ”

(Ll. 32-35) [Here follow four of the customary verses.]

No. 8.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF CHOLA GANDARADITYA.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

In the short interval of about 32 years between Parāntaka who ruled from A.D. 907 to at least A.D. 953,⁴ and Rājārāja I whose date of accession was A.D. 985, five members, *viz.*, Rājākēśarin Gaṇḍarāditya, Parakēśarin Ariṇjaya, Rājākēśarin Sundara-Chōḷa, Parakēśarin Āditya II and Parakēśarin Uttama-Chōḷa, have to be accounted for. As they are usually designated in inscriptions, by their dynastic titles of Parakēśarin or Rājākēśarin, their identity has to be determined only by the internal evidence in the records, if any. The exact periods when these kings ruled are also not specified, except in the case of Parakēśarin Uttama-Chōḷa whose date of accession has been fixed to be A.D. 969-70⁵.

With the help of three records belonging to a Rājakesarivarman copied from the Trichinopoly District, all of which are palæographically attributable to the 10th century A.D. and

¹ [This epithet, I think, is to be split up into two, one ending with *avabhāsamāna* and the other beginning with *śitadhātu*. Their construction is rather clumsy, but the first evidently describes the king's sedan (*dōlikā*) and the second the royal banner over the palace. They may be translated as follows: “whose gold sedan is decorated with a red cloth, is flanked by suspended *chowries*, has its interior furnished with the feathers of the peacock's tail (*their eyes being seen prominently*), (and) shines forth with a white umbrella (*spread over*) ; whose banner with a snake (*emblem*) is surmounted by an alligator made of white metal (*śitadhātu*) ”.—B. C. C.]

² [This seems to be the translation of *grām-ōḍaya*. The word *udaya* does also mean ‘income’ but its adjuncts *sa-jala-sthalah*, etc., do not justify the reading *udaya* in the text. The intended reading as suggested above (p. 79, n. 6) is probably *grāmō=yam*, in which case the gift consists of the village itself.—B. C. C.]

³ [See above p. 79, n. 5.—Ed.]

⁴ There is a solitary record dated in the 48th year of the king at Vanamaladinne in the Chittoor District (No. 200 of 1931-32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

⁵ No. 456 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

evidently relate to one and the same king of that title, an attempt is made herein to fix the initial date of Rājakēśarin Gaṇḍarāditya. The records under reference are :

Place.	Details of date.	Remarks.
1. Allūr ¹ . . .	5th year, Kaṇṇi, lunar eclipse ⁴ . . .	Mentions the son of Virāśōḷa-Irukkuvēl.
2. Pālūr ² . . .	Ditto	Mentions Mahimālaya-Irukkuvēl <i>alias</i> Parāntakaṇ-Virāśōḷaṇ.
3. Do. ³ . . .	Ditto	Ditto.

From the surnames Parāntaka and Virāchōḷa of the Irukkuvēl chief named Mahimālaya figuring in the two Pālūr inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 3), it can be inferred that this chief had been a contemporary of Parāntaka *alias* Vira-Chōḷa, and that the Rājakēśarivarman, in whose records also he figures, was evidently one who came after this Chōḷa king.

The occurrence of a lunar eclipse in the Kanyā month cited in the records is, however, an important astronomical detail, which is helpful in fixing the date. In the period of fifty years from A.D. 940 to 990, there were only three years in which such an eclipse occurred, *viz.*⁵—

1. A.D. 954, September 15, Friday ; śu.15 (.35) ; Uttirattādi (Uttara-Bhādrapadā) (.15) ;
2. A.D. 955, September 4, Tuesday ; śu.15 (.92) ; Pūrattādi (Pūrva-Bhādrapadā) (.50) and Uttirattādi (f. d. n. .49) ; and
3. A.D. 973, September 15, Monday ; śu.15 (.25) ; Uttirattādi (.03).

Of these, the last date may be left out of account as it would definitely fall in the 4th year of the reign of Parakēśarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa. The remaining two dates which are fortunately contiguous to each other and are removed by a period of one year only, would yield either A.D. 949-50 or A.D. 950-51 as the initial date of this Rājakēśarivarman.

However, a record from Nīrppaḷaṇi⁶ in the Pudukkōṭṭai State said to be dated in the 10th year of a Rājakēśarivarman states that Mahimālaya-Irukkuvēl *alias* Parāntakaṇ-Virāśōḷaṇ, who is identical with the chief figuring in the Pālūr inscriptions noted above, made a gift to the temple at Nīrppaḷaṇi, while he visited the temple at Tiruppālatturai during a lunar eclipse, which occurred in the Uttirattādi-nakshatra in the month of Kanyā. As the other details are identical, the regnal year read as 10 appears to be a mistake for 5 ; and Uttirattādi-nakshatra must have also been the star quoted in the portion lost in the Allūr inscription. It is quite possible also that the king had bestowed gifts to the four temples at Allūr, Pālūr, Nīrppaḷaṇi and Tiruppālatturai, all situated near to each other, on the same religious occasion of a lunar eclipse, while staying at the last-mentioned temple. A.D. 954 September 15, Friday, with Uttirattādi-nakshatra may therefore be selected as the date of these three records, in preference to the other date in A.D. 955. As this day fell in the 5th year of this king Rājakēśarivarman, the date of his accession would lie between A.D. 949, September 16 and A.D. 950, September 15.

¹ No. 366 of the same collection for 1903.

² No. 346 of the same collection for 1918.

³ No. 348 of the same collection for 1918.

⁴ In this record the portion containing the name of the *nakshatra* during which the eclipse occurred is built in, and the expression *paṛṛiṇa* is alone visible. The missing words were probably *Uttirattādi-nakshatrattu paṛṛiṇu* as in the Nīrppaḷaṇi inscription.

⁵ According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, some other years in which such an eclipse occurred were A.D. 871, 889, 890, in the reign of Āditya I, a Rājakēśarin ; but the records cannot palæographically be attributed to that king.

⁶ *Inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, No. 30.

Who was this Rājākēsarivarman, whose date of accession was A.D. 949-50? We know from the Ātakūr record¹ that the combined armies of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III and the Gaṅga Būṭuga had defeated the Chōḷa army led by prince Rājāditya at Takkōlam in the North Arcot District and that this Chōḷa prince had also lost his life in the encounter. This record is dated simply in Śaka 872, current, Saumya, corresponding to A.D. 949-50; but in the absence of other details, its exact date cannot be calculated. From the foregoing facts it can, however, be inferred that soon after the death of the eldest prince Rājāditya in the end of A.D. 949, Parāntaka had nominated his second son Gaṇḍarāditya as the heir-apparent² in the beginning of A.D. 950, and that the latter began to count his own regnal years from this year onwards.

As some records³ dated in the 8th year are definitely assignable to Gaṇḍarāditya, his reign may have extended from A.D. 950 to 957 at least.⁴ His end is cryptically described in the expression 'Mēṛkelundaruḷiṇa-Dēvar' i.e., 'he who was pleased to proceed west', but its significance is not quite clear. It is possible that he had lost his life in one of the skirmishes with Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III's army in occupation that may have occurred in the western frontier, and that this event was sought to be euphemistically expressed as 'a journey to the west', from which, however, the king probably never returned alive.

No. 9.—BIJHOLI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA SOMESVARA : V. S. 1226.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The rock inscription under description was at first published by Kavirāja Śyāmaladās of Udaipur in 1886, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LV, part I (pp. 14-15, 28-32 and 40-46) together with some other epigraphs. Since then it has been dealt with by many scholars in connection with the genealogy of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Śākambhari. But the transcript of the record as published by the Kavirāja was far from satisfactory⁵ and the necessity for re-editing it properly has frequently been felt by scholars.⁶ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, it appears, was to re-edit it⁷, but as he has not been able to undertake the work so far, I have taken up the task at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

Bijholi is a small fortified picturesque town situated in 25° 10' N. and 75° 20' E., about 112 miles north-east of Udaipur. Its position is in the midst of what is known as the *ūparamāla* or the uppermost table-land called Pathār, in the Aravalli Hills. This table-land extends from Bārōlli and Bhainsarorgarh in the south to Jahāzpur in the north through Menāl, Bijholi and Māṇḍalgarh, once forming an important portion of the Imperial Chāhamāna dominions of Sāmbhar and

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

² The statement in verse 21 of the Larger Leiden plates of Rājārāja I that after Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya succeeded to the throne, has to be taken to refer to this heir-apparency only (*ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 256).

³ No. 176 of 1907 and No. 574 of 1908 which are records of a Rājākēsarivarman refer to Piḷḷaiyār (Prince) Arikulakēsarīn, who was the younger brother of Gaṇḍarāditya.

⁴ It may be mentioned that the same dates have been suggested by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his *Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 180. The facts noted above support his chronological scheme for this period.

⁵ The transcript of the record which the Kavirāja later on published in the *Vīra-vinōda* (Part I, pp. 383-89) is far better than the one under reference.

⁶ Above, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, n. 3; H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1082, n. 1.

⁷ Above, Vol. XII, p. 222.

Ajmer. It now forms a part of the State of Udaipur. It is very rich in archæological remains, being possessed of numerous ancient monuments now mostly in ruins, of superb architectural and sculptural beauty, such as the temples at Bāroli and Menāl which Col. Tod¹ and James Fergusson² have so highly eulogised. The localities of Jahāzpur, Māṇḍalgarh, Bijholī, Menāl, etc., comprised in this tract, are also the find-spots of a number of epigraphs important for the chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. In fact, every nook and corner of this picturesque table-land has to narrate a story about itself through either sculptures, epigraphs or architectural remains. Princes of the Hūṇa tribe, it is said, were the first founders of towns like Bijholī here, and were the paramount lords of the whole country extending from near the Koṭā border to the precincts of Būndī.³ This Hūṇa possession, in course of time, came under the Imperial Chāhamāna control through conquest and subsequently passed into the hands of the Guhilots of Mewār⁴ and is still in their possession.

Thus, Bijholī⁴ is an important archæological site with certain ancient temples of unique design and elaborate sculptures, still surviving. The place is at present held by one of the sixteen first-class *Umarāvas* or vassals of the Rāṇās of Udaipur, who is called the Rāo of Bijholī. He is an offshoot of the Paramāra family, whose ancestors had come to Mewār from Jagner between Agra and Baiāna in about A.D. 1610.

The first antiquarian who visited this place was Col. James Tod who has described it in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1797-1800 (W. Crooke's ed.). Later on, Mr. Carlleyle, assistant to Major-General Alexander Cunningham of the Archæological Survey of India, paid a visit to the place and described it and its antiquities in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 234-52. Subsequently some other scholars, such as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, also had occasion to visit the place. Mr. Carlleyle stayed at Bijholī for about five days during which period he examined all that was of archæological interest and importance there, minutely describing them in his *Report*; but unfortunately due to heavy rains which prevented him from further exploration, he could not find the rock inscription under description the existence of which he knew from Tod only⁵. He has, therefore, not been able to tell anything about the present record.

The inscription is engraved on a flat undulating rock under a Mahuvā (*Bassia latifolia*) tree, within the encircling wall, towards the north of the big reservoir of water attached to the shrine of Pārśvanātha situated about three-quarters of a mile to the south-east of the town of Bijholī. Tod has described this site in his "Personal Narrative", but his account is somewhat vague and confused, for, he here speaks of 'no less than five temples to Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third of the Jain pontiffs, all of considerable magnitude and elaborate architectural details'. But in reality, there is only one large Jain temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha with four small shrines on its four corners, as Mr. Carlleyle rightly observes⁵. Moreover, the architectural details of the temple of Pārśvanātha which Tod mentions as elaborate are really anything but elaborate. The whole style and execution of the temple is, as a matter of fact, so commonplace that there is hardly

¹ Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1752-69 and 1796-1805 (W. Crooke's ed.).

² Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 448-451.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 234.

⁴ For the various spellings of this geographical place as used by various scholars, see Ray's *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1081, n. 7.

⁵ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

anything of artistic interest. This temple of Pārśvanātha with the reservoir and the orchard attached is, at present, a Digambara Jain property and is under the supervision of Paṭavārī Hirālāl Kāmḍār¹, a devout Digambara Jain and a lover of antiquity.

The surface of the rock containing the inscription is not smooth but rough and undulating, and hence it is very difficult to take impressions of the record. The rock has suffered for centuries from exposure and it was only very recently that Rāo Savāi Krishna Singh, the grandfather of the present Rāo Savāi Kcsari Singh of Bijholi, erected² a small roof over the rock for protection. Wherever the rock was originally defective, it has been left blank; but now the portion of the rock used for engraving has also peeled off at places, and thus some of the important portions of the text have totally been destroyed. As regards **measurement**, the first line of writing on the rock is 5' 3" long and the last complete line is 12' in length, the intervening lines gradually increasing in length both ways as we proceed downwards. The height of the inscription between the first and the last line is 3' 6". There are in all thirty lines of writing on the rock, of which the last one is even less than half.

Regarding **palæography** there is practically nothing remarkable. The initial vowel *i* which is used three or four times in the whole inscription, however, appears in its ancient form made up of two dots and a comma below, the modern form of the letter being totally absent. The consonant *jh* which occurs twice in two different geographical names, viz., *Mōrājharī* (l. 11) and *Laghu-Vijhōlī* (l. 29) is somewhat confusing, having been so formed as to appear like *kr*. The form of *n* is throughout similar to that of *t* except for a small notch on the lowest extremity of the left-hand side loop which is often imperceptible. *G* in its reduplicated form is throughout represented as *gn*.

In respect of **orthography** the most conspicuous point to be noted is the indiscriminate use of the sibilants, particularly the dental and the palatal, throughout the inscription, e.g., *Nāsā-svāsēna* (l. 2), *Pārśvanāthah* (l. 4), *subha-tatiḥ* and *chaturvimsatiḥ* (l. 5), *sauryēṇa* (l. 10), etc., of which the use of *s* in place of *ś* is more frequent than *vice versa*. Almost the same is the case with regard to the use of *v* and *b*, for examples, cf. *-nītamvinī-*, *vibhrati* and *nirvādhā-vōdh°* (l. 5), *vabhūva* (l. 12), *sad-vuddhi-vamdhura* (l. 13), etc., and *-baryaḥ* (l. 8), *-ballim* (l. 18) and *banam* (l. 20). *J* is used in lieu of *y* in *jam na(yan=na)* (l. 8) and *bhārjjayōr=* (l. 14). The sound of *kh* is sometimes represented by its proper sign, while in some cases the sign for *sh* is employed in its stead. Consonants following a superscript *r* are often reduplicated, e.g., in *nishṭh-ārppitam* (l. 1), *karm-ōnmūlana-* (l. 5), *nirggataḥ* (l. 12), and so on; sometimes they are left single, as in *gāmbhīry-audārya-ba(va)ryaḥ* (l. 8), *[da]rśayāmi* (l. 19), etc. Nasals are throughout represented by *anuvāra*, the only exception being *Gaṅga(ṅā)nāthu* (l. 21). The sign for *avagraha* is employed about ten times.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and except for a few grammatical inaccuracies, the composition is free from errors. The clerical and engraving mistakes are, however, considerable. Thus, *sandhi* is not observed in some cases, while in others it is wrong. The transitive root *sū*, 'to beget, to produce' is used intransitively in *śrī-Jāsaṭṭh=sūta* (l. 13). The verbal noun *samsnātrī* in *samsnātrī kōṭi-līmṅānām* (l. 21) is used for its causative form *samsnāpayitri*. Some of the verses contain paronymous words and thus convey double meanings. The whole epigraph is in verse except adoration to Vitarāga in the beginning and a portion after the last verse in l. 29, commencing with the date in numerals and terminating with the last line, recording various donations of land made by different persons for the maintenance of the Pārśvanātha temple, which are in prose.

¹ I am indebted to this gentlemen as well as to Sādhu Sitārāmdās, both residents of Bijholi, for the kind help they extended to me when I was there in connection with the preparation of a transcript of the record under edition.

² Ojha, *Rājaputāne kṛt Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 1198.

The inscription is indeed 'difficult' as admitted by scholars like Professor F. Kielhorn¹. This difficulty is, to some extent, due to careless engraving, but it chiefly lies in the ambiguous phraseology of certain verses of historical importance. Consequently their contents are open to more than one explanation. Some other historically important verses add to this difficulty by being overloaded with metaphors.

It is a Digambara Jaina record inasmuch as its main **object** is to record the erection of a temple to Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jain pontiff, by a pious Digambara Jain named **Lōlāka**². But its importance lies in the long list it supplies of the princes of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Sāmbhar and Ajmer. The authentic and complete history of this ruling family is still not known. Till before A.D. 1875 the only source of information regarding the history of this dynasty was the well-known *Prithvirāja-rāsō*, an epic poem written in the old Rājasthānī dialect, supposed to be the work of the famous bard Chanda who was a contemporary and the court-poet of the Chauhān Prithvirāja. But the authenticity and the antiquity of the said work have been seriously doubted³. In the words of Mr. Vincent A. Smith we find that "the Chanda's *Rāesa*, as we now have it, is misleading, and all but worthless for the purposes of the historian⁴". It was in the year 1875 that a birch-bark manuscript copy of an historical poem in Sanskrit called the *Prithvirāja-vijaya*, written in Śāradā characters, was discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmīr in course of his tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. The discovery of this fragmentary manuscript threw fresh light on the history and chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. A short account of this poem was first brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. J. Morison in his article entitled "Some Account of the Genealogies in the Prithvirāja-vijaya", published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, pp. 188-192. This work is proved to have been composed during the lifetime of Prithvirāja, the great Chauhān Emperor, from the fact that the poet Jayaratha, who flourished about A.D. 1200⁵, has quoted certain verses in his work, the *Vimarśiṇī*⁶, from this poem, and as such, the historical information it contains is genuine. The antiquity of this poem and therefore its historical accuracy is also vouched for by the fact that a commentary on it was written as early as about the middle of the fifteenth century by the well-known historian Jōnarāja, the author of the 'second' *Rājatarangīṇī* and the commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* written in A.D. 1448. The order of chronology of the Chāhamāna princes as given in this poem also found full support from the Harsha stone inscription⁷ of Chāhamāna Vigharāja dated in V. S. 1030, which mentions seven successive princes from Gūvaka (I) to Vigharāja (II). But as the list supplied by this inscription was shorter than that given in the poem, some inscription of this period with a long list of these princes, exactly corresponding to that found in the poem, was a requisite so as to leave no room for suspicion. This desideratum has been supplied by the present rock inscription and therein lies its importance. The chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty as given in the *Prithvirāja-vijaya* and as verified from the Bijholi rock inscription is, thus, to be accepted as authentic.

To take up now the **contents** of the record, we find that it opens with a salutation to Vitarāga in a small prose sentence. In v. 1 adoration is paid to that divine light produced in the (supreme) soul which has manifested itself in the form of the formula 'syāt'. V. 2 describes Rishabhādēva,

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 62.

² This name is variously spelt in the inscription as Lōlāka (v. 49), Lōllaka (v. 51), Lōlika (v. 58) and Lōlaka (v. 83).

³ *J. A. S. B.*, 1886, part I, no. I, pp. 5-65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 29.

⁵ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 171.

⁶ Bombay edition, p. 64.

⁷ Above, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57-64.

the first Jaina Tirthaṅkara. Then is described Śāntinātha, the sixteenth pontiff, in v. 3. In v. 4 are mentioned the marvellous activities of Nēminātha, the twenty-first Tirthaṅkara, who is said to have blown the Pāñchajanya conch of Lord Kṛishṇa by means of the breath of his nose, pulled his bow Śārṅga with his thumb and shook Halabhṛit with his finger. Then Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third apostle is described in v. 5. V. 6 is devoted to the description of Varddhamaṇa (Mahāvīra), the last Jaina Tirthaṅkara. In v. 7 is adored the goddess of speech under two of her appellations, Śāradā and Bhārati. Vv. 8-9 mention other divinities in a general way.

Then begins the **genealogical portion** covering vv. 10-28. V. 10, the first couplet of this portion, poetically describes the Chāhamāna-vāṃśa where the expression *Śrī-Chāhamāna-kṣhīrāja-vāṃśaḥ* comprising its first quarter is open to two different explanations. Almost all scholars appear to have taken this compound to mean *Śrī-Chāhamāna eva kṣhīrāja-vāṃśaḥ* 'the royal or princely dynasty known as Chāhamāna', for they regard the genealogy contained in this inscription to begin from Sāmanta¹; but the compound expression as well means *Śrī-Chāhamāna-kṣhīrājayasya vāṃśaḥ* 'the family of the illustrious prince Chāhamāna', in which case the present genealogy suggests itself to start from **Chāhamāna**, the eponymous prince born from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala*² to whom the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hamīra-mahākāvya*³ of Nayaachandra Sūri trace the origin of the tribe. Nothing, however, is said of him here as also in the two poems referred to above. It hardly needs any mention that the birth of this prince of great antiquity from the Sun, as recorded in ancient works like the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*, clearly indicates the relation of the Chāhamāna princes to the race of Kshatriyas emanated from the Sun, and that the theory of their origin from the fire-pit of Vasishṭha on Mt. Abu as first propounded by Chanda, the author of the *Rāsō*, is merely a misleading fabrication.

In the next verse (v. 11) is given the description of Śākambharā (Śākambharī), the guardian deity of the Chāhamāna race, born as the wife of Viṣṇu. Most interesting to note in the present verse is the mention of the second prince of the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hamīra-mahākāvya* lists, named Vāsudēva, as carving out his principality round the lake Śākambharā (Sāmbhār) which region is here said to have become his mother or mother-country (*jan-īva*, l. 6). The author has evidently referred to Vāsudēva by the variant Viṣṇu—a fact which has totally escaped the attention of scholars. Our author, it will be seen as we proceed further, is fond of employing variants in case of proper names, both geographical and genealogical. The word *tatō=pi* towards the end of this verse also indicates that the verse mentions some prince in descent from the one mentioned in the previous verse, who is undoubtedly Viṣṇu or Vāsudēva; and it thus also proves that *Chāhamāna* in the foregoing verse is used as the name of a prince and not as a mere family title. It is, thus, gratifying to find the genealogical lists of the Chāhamāna princes of Sāmbhar as given in the present rock inscription and the two historical poems referred to above, corresponding from the very starting point.

V. 12 is undoubtedly one of the difficult verses found in this portion for which scholars have offered more than one explanation. The verse describes a prince named **Sāmarṇta** who has been regarded as the very first prince mentioned in the present inscription. But taking Chāhamāna as the first prince on this list as already discussed above, this prince is the third in order of description. He, of course, seems to be the first prince of this line who had established himself with some

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270; above, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, no. 154; Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 1062 and 1081-82; Ojha, *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 363.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 263.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-73.

stability in his ancestral land and maintained his position as a ruler. Neither the present inscription nor the said historical poems throw any light on the relation in which this prince stood to his predecessor ; but as all these three records appear to be unanimous in placing Sāmanṭa after Viṣṇu or Vāsudēva, it seems reasonable to believe the former as the son of the latter. As to the various explanations offered for this verse, we find scholars like C. V. Vaidya inclined to accept the first half of it as quite independent of the second half taking it to mean that " There was a Brāhmin of Śrīvatsa-gōtra formerly in Ahichchhatrapura " ; and the second half of it according to them means that " From him was (descended or born) king Sāmanṭa of many *sāmanta*s¹ ". In this explanation the text *Pūrṇṇatallē*(llō) finds no meaning. Dr. H. C. Ray, however, accepts *Pūrṇṇatalla* as a proper name of the prince who succeeded Sāmanṭa, but his explanation of the third quarter of the verse *Sāmanṭō=naṃta-sāmṇtaḥ* seems to be quite different. He appears to take *Sāmanṭō=naṃta* as meaning ' Sāmanṭa who was also known as Ananta ' ; and the other *sāmanta* at the end of the quarter means ' a feudatory prince ' according to him. He, thus, takes the verse to mean that in Viṣṇu or Vāsudēva's lineage ' was born Sāmanṭa also known as Ananta, who was a feudatory prince and a *vipra*, in the Vatsa-gōtra at Ahichchhatrapura. From him was born *Pūrṇṇatalla*². The above explanation is certainly based on the meaning, as first given by professor Kielhorn³ and later on, having been a little modified⁴ by himself, now generally accepted by scholars, of the second quarter of v. 13 of the Harsha stone inscription that ' Gūvaka (from whom starts the genealogy in that inscription) attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of prince Nāgavalōka ', and also on the fact that in vv. 16 and 28 of that very epigraph, the country which the princes of this dynasty governed has been called ' Ananta or Ananta-gōchāra '. He, thus, seems to have tried to explain the name Ananta-gōchāra by assuming that it was called as such after the other name⁵ of Sāmanṭa, which, as found in the present epigraph was Ananta. And as Gūvaka (I) is regarded a feudatory prince, Dr. Ray is inclined to accept *sāmanta* at the end of the third quarter of the present verse as meaning ' a feudatory prince ', thereby making prince Sāmanṭa also a feudatory. But the generally accepted explanation of the Harsha stone inscription text is itself not final. Kielhorn had himself to change the theory he first propounded regarding this chiefship of the Chāhamāna princes⁶.

The plain meaning of the present verse of our record seems to be that ' formerly a *vipra* named Sāmanṭa having numerous feudatory princes was born or descended in the Vatsa-gōtra at Ahichchhatrapura. After him came the prince *Pūrṇṇatalla* ' (v. 12).

The use of the term *vipra* in connection with a ruling prince decidedly of the Kshatriya stock is found not only in this inscription but also in many others of various ruling dynasties where the princes are sometimes called *vipra* and sometimes *mahidēva*. A correct explanation of the use of such terms has not yet come forth. In my article on the ' first and third slabs of Kumbhalgarh inscription ', I have tried to show that such usage has nothing to do with the origin or blood of the princes and seems to have some bearing on their divine habits which they might have acquired⁷. I am, now, further inclined to think that the word *mahidēva* must have originated

¹ C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, p. 93.

² Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 1061-62.

³ Above, Vol. II, p. 117.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 62, n. 1.

⁵ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1064.

⁶ Above Vol. IX, p. 62, n. 1.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 308.

itself in connection with ruling princes as its very formation shows. Having then been applied to *vipras* or Brāhmins, most divine and venerable as they stood in the social rank of the age, it seems to have become a synonym of *vipra* in course of time, so much so that thereafter the latter came in use to denote royalty in place of the former. Even to-day the application of the term *mahārāja*, undoubtedly a princely title, to a Brahmin is not unfrequent; and the terms *Brāhmaṇa*, *Vipra*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahīdēva*, etc., appear to have become almost synonymous. Thus, *vipra* may have been used here for *Mahīdēva* 'a ruling prince' who, in the present case, as we know from other sources, was a Kshatriya of the solar race.

The theory of Kshatriyas having *gōtras* like Vatsa, Vasishṭha, etc., has been sufficiently discussed by scholars and it is unnecessary to dilate on it here.

The identification of Ahichchhatrapura which is here stated to have been Sāmanta's original seat of government has also been a subject of much discussion. As the original home of the Chāhamānas is also called Sapādalaksha in many other inscriptions, some scholars like Bhagvānlāl Indrajī¹ and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar are inclined to regard this name as the original Sanskrit form of the modern name Siwālik which is a range of hills below Dehra Dun in the Sahāranpur District, U. P., and thus, according to them, this Ahichchhatra must have been a town in that region in the Upper Ganges-Jumna Valley, from where the dynasty migrated southwards. But the testimony of the two literary works referred to above, viz., the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, as also the evidence and the provenance of the earliest inscriptions of the tribe so far discovered, and the identification of most of the places mentioned therein, would suggest the Śākambharī region to have been the cradle of this race. The epigraphic as well as the literary tradition regarding the capture of Delhi, the capital of the Tōmaras, by the Chāhamānas as supported by references to occasional conflicts between some of the earlier princes of both the tribes would also indicate the movement of the latter to have been northwards from Sāmbhar and not towards Sāmbhar from the north. This Ahichchhatrapura, therefore, has to be identified with some place in the Śākambharī-*pradēśu* itself where Viṣṇu (Vāsudēva), the predecessor of Sāmanta, had carved out his principality. Rai Bahadur Ojha has identified it with Nāgapura, modern Nāgaur in the Jodhpur State².

After Pūrṇatalla came the princes **Jayarāja, Vighrahanṛipa, Chandra, Gōpēndraka, Durllabha, Gūvaka, Śaśinṛipa, Gūvāka, Chandana, Vappayarāja, Viṃdhyanṛipati, Sindhārāt, Vighraha, Durllabha (II), Guṃḍu, Vākpati** and his younger brother **Vīryarāma** (v. 13).

Except a bare enumeration of these princes, even the relation in which each succeeding prince stood to his immediate predecessor is not known from this verse for which we may resort to the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya* and the Harsha stone inscription. Thus, the former states that Jayarāja was the son of Sāmanta, Vighrahanṛipa and Chandra were respectively the son and grandson of Jayarāja, Gōpēndraka was the brother of Chandra, and Durllabha was Chandra's son, i.e., Gōpēndraka's nephew. We have no other information from any source regarding these first five princes. Only vague praise is assigned to them in certain literary works due to which some scholars regard them as insignificant³. The last prince of this category, viz., Durllabha or Durlabharāja is stated in the *Prith. vij.* to have been succeeded by his son Gōvindarāja, but the present record places Gūvaka after Durllabha. According to Rai Bahadur H. B. Śārdā, Gūvaka and Gōvindarāja are

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, p. 157 and p. 158, n. 1.

² *Nāgarī-Prachārīnī Patrikā*, Vol. II, part III, see also *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVIII (1922), p. 289.

³ *Raj. Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1062.

both identical¹; and the Harsha stone inscription of V. S. 1030 referred to above, gives the genealogy of the Chāhamāna princes up to Vighraharāja II (Vighraha of the present verse) from Gūvaka who has been unanimously identified with Gūvaka of the present inscription. Thus, Gūvaka of the inscription of V. S. 1030, Gōvindarāja of the said historical poem and Gūvaka of this record is one and the same prince. According to the explanation of the second quarter of verse 13 of the Harsha stone inscription as first given by Prof. Kielhorn, this Gūvaka was a feudatory prince attaining pre-eminence as a hero in the court of Nāgāvalōka, who has been identified with the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (A. D. 815).² Regarding the above explanation Prof. Kielhorn himself had, later on, felt some doubt as already alluded to by me above, and the verse can be explained in a different way also³. It is, however, strange to note that Major Erskine has omitted⁴ this name in his list of princes of this dynasty, though the name is found in all the records including the one under description.

According to the *Prith. vij.*, Gūvaka was succeeded by Chandrarāja (II) whom our author calls Śaśinripa. His fondness for using synonyms in proper names is here again displayed as in the case of Viṣṇu (Vāsudēva).

Gūvaka, the next prince mentioned here, styled Gūvaka (II) in both the *Prith. vij.* and the Harsha stone inscription, was the son of Chandrarāja. He was succeeded by his son Chandana to whom is attributed by the latter record the slaying in battle of a Tōmara prince whose name according to Kielhorn is Rudrēna⁵ which he equates with Rudrapāla. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes this name to be Rudra⁶. His son and successor was Vappayarāja called Vākpatirāja in the *Prith. vij.* who is said in the Harsha inscription to have put to flight one Tantrapāla. The same inscription gives him the title *Mahārāja*. He had three sons of whom the youngest named Lakṣmaṇa established himself at Nāḍol and was the founder of the Mārwar branches of the Chāhamānas. His successor was Viṃdhyanṛpati whom scholars like Śārdā⁷ and Ray⁸ do not regard a prince at all, evidently being misled by the text *Vappayarāja-Viṃdhyanṛpatiḥ* of Kavirāja Śyāmaladās's faulty transcript. But the text on the rock is *Vappayarāja-Viṃdhyanṛpati*, a dual form, evidently containing the names of two princes; and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is right when he takes him as the successor of Vappayarāja⁹. It may be noted in this connection that excepting the names *Śaśinripa* and *Vīryarāma*, this verse mentions all other names either in a combination of two or three. Nothing, however, is known of Viṃdhyanṛpati from any source. He was succeeded by Siṃharāt, the son of Vappayarāja, who is stated in the Harsha inscription to have subdued a Tōmara *Nāyaka* or chief Salavaṇa¹⁰, and built a Śiva temple which the *Prith. vij.* locates at Pushkar. His title was *Mahārājādhirāja*. Next prince was Vighraha (Vighraharāja II), the son of Siṃharāt. The Harsha stone inscription of V. S. 1030, which is the oldest record of the dynasty so far discovered, belongs to the reign of this prince. The *Prith. vij.* assigns to him the conquest of the country as far south as the Narmadā and the defeat of the

¹ J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 265-66.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 239-40 and Vol. XLII, p. 58.

³ Vaidya, *His. Med. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 95.

⁴ *Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. III-B, p. 65.

⁵ Above, Vol. II, p. 121, v. 14 and p. 117 and n. 3.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 58, n. 2.

⁷ J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 270.

⁸ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1063.

⁹ Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.

¹⁰ Some scholars have taken 'Salavaṇa' to mean 'together with Lavapa'. In that case the name of the Tōmara *Nāyaka* remains unknown.

Gurjara prince Mūlarāja who fled to the fort of Kanthādurga in Cutch. He is also stated to have built a temple to the goddess Āsāpurī, one of his family guardians, at Bhṛigukaechhha (Broach) in Gujarāt. After him came Durlabha, his younger brother, regarding whom we have no information except that his minister's name was Mādhava. The Kinsariyā inscription¹, however, states that he earned the epithet *Durlaṅghyamēru* and conquered the country called Āsōsittana (Rāsōsittana). His successor was his son Guṇḍu, whom the *Prith. vij.* calls Gōvinda-rāja (II). According to the *Prabandhakōśa*², he won a victory over Sulṭān Mahmūd. If this Sulṭān is identified with Mahmūd of Ghazni, the event will be one that took place in A.D. 1025³ when he was on his way to Sōmanātha through Jaisalmer and Mallani. But as the event does not find mention in an authentic work like the *Prith. vij.*, some scholars are doubtful regarding the reliability of this statement of the *Prabandhakōśa*⁴. Gōvindarāja was succeeded by his son Vākpatinripa (Vākpatirāja II), who, according to the *Prith. vij.*, rent asunder with his dagger the mouth of Āmbāprasāda, the lord of Āghāṭa (mod. Āhaḍ near the Udaipur Railway station) and thus sent him to the abode of Yama. This Āmbāprasāda is the same as Āmrprasāda of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331⁵, who was the son of the Guhila prince Śaktikumāra. The last prince mentioned in this verse is Viryarāma whose name is followed by the word *anujaḥ* showing that he was the younger brother of Vākpatinripa and therefore one of the sons of Guṇḍu as accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar⁶. Dr. Ray, however, calls him the son of Vākpati. He was killed by the Paramāra prince Bhōja (A.D. 1010-1055), according to the *Prith. vij.* The word *anujaḥ* with which ends this verse has also to be construed with the first prince mentioned in the next verse viz., Chāmuṇḍa, who is definitely stated in the said poem to be the brother of Viryarāma.

After [Chāmuṇḍa] whose epithet was *Rāṇaka-vara*, came Siṅghaṭa, his brother Dūsala and Viśala. After him (Viśala) came his son Prithvirāja, and thereafter his son Ajayadēva (v. 14).

Chāmuṇḍa, as has already been noticed, was the younger brother of Viryarāma whom he succeeded. The *Prith. vij.* calls him Chāmuṇḍarāja and attributes to him the building of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu at Narapura (mod. Narwar in the Kishengarh territory) situated at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer⁷.

He is stated here to have been succeeded by Siṅghaṭa whose name is missing elsewhere. His relation with his predecessor is also not known but he is accepted as the prince who succeeded Chāmuṇḍa both by Kielhorn⁷ and by Bhandarkar⁸.

After him came his brother Dūsala called Durlabha or Durlabharāja (III) in the *Prith. vij.* He was also called Virasimha. As to whose son he was, there is no clue in the present epigraph. The *Prith. vij.* calls him the son of Viryarāma⁹, but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Chāmuṇḍa.⁸ He is here stated to be the brother of Siṅghaṭa and if he was the son of Chāmuṇḍa as Dr. Bhandarkar believes, then Siṅghaṭa, whose relation with his predecessor is not yet known, was also an elder son of Chāmuṇḍa. He is stated in the said historical poem to have been killed in a battle with the *Mātāṅgas* (*Mlēchchhas* or *Musalmāns*).

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 56-61.

² *Gauḍavaho* (ed. B. S. S.). Introduction, p. cxxvi, note.

³ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 113.

⁴ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1069.

⁵ *Bhāvnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 272, n. 1.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, Appendix I, p. 14.

⁸ Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.

⁹ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1069, and *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270.

His successor was Visala, Vighraharāja (III) of the *Prith. vij.* and Visvala of the *Hamnīra-mahā-kārya*. The former poem states that he gave to Udayāditya of Mālwa (A.D. 1059-1087) a horse named Sāraṅga with the aid of which he vanquished Karṇa, the Gurjara prince. The present inscription gives **Rājadēvi** as the name of his queen.

His successor was his son Prithvirāja (I) whose queen's name as found here is **Rāsalladēvi**. The *Prith. vij.* attributes to him the killing of a body of 700 Chaulukyas who had come to rob the Brāhmaṇas of Pushkara-tīrtha. Only one inscription of his reign, viz., the Rēvasā stone inscription¹ dated in V.S. 1162 (A.D. 1105) has been found. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes him to be the son of Durlabha² and not that of Visala as recorded in both the *Prith. vij.* and the present epigraph.

The next prince was Ajayadēva, the son of Prithvirāja (I), called Ajayarāja *alias* Salhana in the *Prith. vij.* His queen's name as recorded in this verse is **Sōmalladēvi**, called Sōmalēkhā in the said poem according to which she used to coin fresh *rūpakas* every day. The same poem attributes to the reign of this prince the foundation of the city of Ajayamēru, modern Ajmer. Dr. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Visala.²

Verse 15, which contains the achievements of Ajayadēva, is another important verse in the present record as whatever historical information is derived from this and the following verses is not found elsewhere. Ajayadēva is stated here to have killed three heroes **Chachchiga**, **Simdhala** and **Yaśōrāja** towards the identification of whom no scholar seems to have yet made any attempt. Perhaps a clue to their identity is to be found in the expression *Śrīmārgga-Durdd-ānvitam* at the end of the first half of this verse. *Anvitam* appears to mean 'connected or associated with', and the first two words seem to be the names of two geographical places with which the heroes mentioned were connected. Thus, it is evident that these heroes were associated with the localities of **Śrīmārgga** and **Durdda**. The word *vīra* shows that probably they did not belong to any of the principal ruling families, but may have been feudatories of an inferior rank of some one of them. **Śrīmārgga** as it stands, appears to have been used as a variant of Śripathā or Śripatha which has been identified by J. F. Fleet³ with modern Bayānā in the Bharatpur State. The tendency of our author's mind towards the use of synonyms is here again discernible. We, thus, find that it was Ajayadēva who took the first step towards conquering the northern plains of India and extending the boundary of his ancestral territory which attained its culminating point in the reign of his grandson Vighraharāja (IV) as we shall presently see. This northward expansion seems to have begun in two different directions—one through Bayānā in direct north and the other through Durdda which on phonetic grounds may be identified with modern Duddai or Dūdhai in central India in the neighbourhood of the Chāhamāna domain in an easterly direction. The latter place seems to have been important in the ancient country of Jējākabhukti governed by the Chandrā-trēyas. This country itself, as known from one of the stone inscriptions found at Madanpur, a little way to the south-east of Dūdhai, was completely conquered in V. S. 1239 by Prithvirāja, the great Chāhamāna ruler, who was the son of Sōmēśvara and grandson of Arjōrāja⁴. Ajayadēva was, thus, the first powerful king of this lineage who took the initiative in enlarging his kingdom and carving out a path for his descendants for further expansion. That he actually brought the country as far as Bayānā under his own control is also evidenced by the discovery of certain silver and copper coins bearing his name which are frequently found in Rājputāna and Mathurā⁵. The latter half of the verse mentions his other exploit which was the tying of one **Sōllana**, a commander-in-chief (*Damḍanāyaka-varaḥ*), to a camel in the field of battle. This fact is also corroborated from

¹ P. R. A. S., Western circle, 1909-10, p. 52.

² Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 239.

⁴ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1084.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1071.

the *Prith. vij.* which states that he defeated Sulhaṇa, the king of Mālwā. But as there was no king of this name ruling over Mālwā during that period, it seems to have been the name of a general as mentioned here, of the then Paramāra prince, possibly Naravarman, ruling over Mālwā.

V. 16 mentions **Arṇōrāja** as the son and successor of Ajayadēva. The next verse (v. 17), the interpretation of which is rather difficult, appears to contain some important historical fact under the veil of metaphor. The first half of it seems to mention the retaliation this prince had on the kingdoms of **Kuśa** and **Vāraṇa**¹. We already know that his father Ajayadēva had extended his dominion both towards the north up to Bayānā and towards the east up to Dūdhai; and the kingdoms lying beyond these localities must have naturally cherished hostility for Arṇōrāja who was now a formidable neighbour. They might have even attacked him, but he seems not only to have repulsed the attack but also to have added fresh territories to his father's dominion. He, thus, took the second step towards the paramount sovereignty of Āryāvarta lying between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, which his son Vighraharāja (IV) was destined to enjoy for the first time, having himself taken the third step by way of capturing Delhi and Hānsi, as we shall just see. Kuśa, as the name of a kingdom, may denote Kuśasthala or Kanauj² where the route may have been northwards from Dūdhai already in possession. The kingdom of Kanauj had been fast fading in importance at this time due to the increasing influence of the Chāhamānas. Vāraṇa is the well-known ancient name of Bulandshahar³ near Delhi which was, during this period, under the control of Ḍoḍas or Ḍoḍiyas, one of the thirty-six royal races of the Rājputs mentioned by Tod. An inscription dated in V. S. 1233 found at Bulandshahar mentions sixteen generations of this dynasty which ruled there⁴. Arṇōrāja might have made further progress by proceeding to this place from Bayānā making the ruling prince there his tributary. He, thus, seems to have still further enlarged his kingdom northwards up to Bulandshahar and Kanauj. The next half of the verse appears to contain an account of his relation with the Paramāra kingdom of Mālwā. We know from a stone inscription found in the *Aḍhai-din-kā-jhōpadā* at Ajmer and now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, that Arṇōrāja's father Ajayadēva had conquered the country up to Ujjain, the capital of Mālwā. This clearly shows the hostility existing between the two kingdoms. Ajayadēva is also stated in the previous verse to have barbarously treated Sōllaṇa, the *Damḍanāyaka* of the Mālwā prince. Arṇōrāja is here stated to have shown disrespect to one called **Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa** and thus brought him to humiliation. *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa*, as we already know, was the epithet of the Paramāra prince Naravarman⁵ who was a contemporary of both Ajayadēva and Arṇōrāja, and what is mentioned here plainly refers to him. The text *bhaṇḡa-kuraṇam śrī Dēvarājaṁ prati*, the concluding portion of the verse, also seems to refer to Naravarman, who, having been called Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa is looked upon as Dēvarāja, the lord of gods. The employment of the term *Dēvarāja* is evidently for the sake of suiting the other sense of the verse relating to the ocean (*Arṇōrāja*). This prince might have thus attacked the Mālwā country and subdued its ruler either independently or he may have assisted his father-in-law, the Chaulukya prince Jayasinha (Siddharāja) who waged war against Naravarman, continuing for full twelve years in order to avenge himself of the latter's attack on his capital in his absence when on a pilgrimage to Sōmanātha⁶. The *Prith. vij.* states that he also completely vanquished the Musalmāns (*Mātāṅgas*) who came across the desert (Marusthalī)⁷.

¹ [From the context *Kuśavāraṇa* seems to comprise only one kingdom.—Ed.]

² N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 111.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 23 s.v. Barana; Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 458.

⁴ Ojha, *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 239.

⁵ Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 397.

⁶ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 969-70.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1073 and *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 273.

His son was **Vigraharāja** (v. 18). **Sajjana**, 'the only wicked person on earth, took his way towards (*the home of*) **Kṛitāṁta**' ; and **Kurñtapāla**, 'the keeper of lance, came to a state of utter lancelessness' (v. 20). He, due to resentment made **Jāvālipura**, a city of flames ; **Pallikā**, an insignificant village ; and **Nad(dd)ūla**, like a bed of reeds (v. 21). He is stated to have 'made his fame take rest on each street of towns and on each roof of dwellings, which was fatigued due to the capture of **Phillikā** and was lagging behind owing to the acquisition of **Āsikā**' (v. 22).

This **Vigraharāja**, the son of **Arṇōrāja**, was the monarch in whose reign the **Chāhamāna** power attained its climax. He may rightly be called the first **Chāhamāna** Emperor of India, justifying what has been spoken of him in the small Delhi Siwālik Pillar inscription¹ dated in V. S. 1220 (A.D. 1164). The identification of **Sajjana** mentioned in v. 20 is somewhat difficult. This name may refer itself to the *Danādhipati* whom **Chaulukya Jayasinha** had appointed to superintend the affairs of **Surāshṭra** which he conquered having defeated and killed in battle the **Ābhīra** ruler **Navaghana**². If this identification is correct, then the southward extension of the **Chāhamāna** domain as far as **Vindhya** as recorded in the inscription of V. S. 1220 referred to above, becomes justified to some extent. **Kumārāpāla**, the contemporary **Chaulukya** prince, was indeed a formidable monarch and the country of **Surāshṭra** was a part of his dominion. But **Vigraharāja** was no less powerful, and hostilities between these two neighbouring powers had already broken out afresh with the accession of **Kumārāpāla** who had twice attacked his father **Arṇōrāja**³. It is thus possible that this **Chāhamāna** prince extended his arms against **Surāshṭra** in order to avenge himself, and, having killed its governor **Sajjana** who might have grown very old by this time, took that land in his possession. Dr. **Bhagvānlāl Indraji** has already drawn the attention of scholars⁴ to an inscription of **Sajjana** dated in V. S. 1176 (A.D. 1120) located in the temple of **Nēminātha** at **Girnār**.

As regards the identification of **Kurñtapāla** who had to throw away his weapons (v. 20) in presence of **Vigraharāja**, we have no difficulty. **Muhaṇṭa Naiṇasī** informs us that when **Kitū** or **Kirtipāla**, the founder of the **Sōnagarā** branch of the **Chāhamānas**, took possession of **Jālor**, the ruling prince there was **Paramāra Kuntapāla**⁵. **Vigraharāja**, as we already know, was a contemporary of **Chaulukya Kumārāpāla** and so was **Alhaṇadēva**⁶, the father of **Kitū**. Thus, **Vigraha** and **Alhaṇa** were both contemporaries ; and as **Kuntapāla** of **Jālor** was living when attacked by **Kitū**, it goes without saying that he was a contemporary of **Alhaṇa** and also of **Vigraha**. Thus, our prince seems to have invaded the **Paramāra** territory of **Kuntapāla** and even set fire to his capital town **Jāvālipura**, i.e., **Jālor** (v. 21), the reason for which is, however, not known. This hard stroke at the hands of this powerful monarch must have rendered **Kuntapāla** very weak, and this is why **Kirtipāla** took no time in turning him out of **Jālor** soon after, and establishing himself there as the founder of the **Sōnagarā** branch. He also reduced **Pallikā** (modern **Pālī** in **Jodhpur State**), a flourishing town in ancient times, to a state of utter insignificance (v. 21). He is also mentioned to have turned the town of **Naddūla** (mod. **Nāḍol**) into a bed of reeds (v. 21). **Nāḍol**, at this time, was invaded and ultimately annexed to the **Chaulukya Empire** by **Kumārāpāla** due to a predecessor of **Alhaṇa** ruling there, siding with **Arṇōrāja**, his enemy, in the fight that took place between the two princes in V. S. 1207, and was put in charge of a *Dāṇḍanāyaka* named **Vaijāka**⁷. It was **Alhaṇadēva** who regained his ancestral dominion of **Nāḍol** through constant assistance to **Kumārāpāla** which secured him the favour of the **Chaulukya** ruler who ultimately

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 218 ff.

² *Ray, Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 969.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1073.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 176-77,

⁵ *His Khyāta*, part I, p. 152 ; *Ojhā, Sirohi-rājya kā Itihāsa*, p. 170.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. IX, p. 83, n. 8.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. XI, p. 70.

restored him his territory. This allegiance of Alhana to Kumārapāla must have caused the indignation of Vighraharāja who devastated Nāḍol as mentioned here and avenged the breach of faith¹.

His last exploit mentioned was the capture of Dhillikā (Delhi) and the acquisition of Āsikā (Hānsi) (v. 22) from the Tōmara prince Anaṅgapāla III². This, as I have already mentioned, was the third and the last step taken by this prince towards completion of the task set afoot by his grandfather Ajayadēva and successfully carried out by his father Arṇōrāja, viz., the extension of Empire. Arṇōrāja had already reached Bulandshahar and Kanauj, and his son, the present prince, proceeding still further towards the north, brought the entire Āryāvarta under his control. Hitherto we certainly knew from other records that he was a paramount sovereign ruling over the whole of Hindustān lying between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, but it looked rather abrupt as to how he could make so vast an acquisition in course of a single generation. Our epigraph now clearly shows that the acquisition was not abrupt but gradual and was the result of constant activities covering three successive generations. By this extension he naturally came into contact and conflict with the Yāminis of Ghazni and the Punjab, whom he totally exterminated as stated in the Siwālik Pillar inscription. The portraiture of this prince will be partial if we fail to note that he was not only a distinguished warrior but also a distinguished man of letters. As the author of the *Harakēli-nāṭaka*³, he ranks among the best dramatists of India. His court-poet Sōmadēva was the author of the *Lalita-Vighraharāja-nāṭaka*⁴. He was so great a patron of learning that with his death the name "the friend of poets" disappeared⁵.

After him came **Prithvirāja** (II), the son of Vighraharāja's elder brother (v. 23). It is indeed strange to note that the latter had an elder brother whose name is not recorded in the present genealogy. A clue to this mystery is found in the *Prith. vij.* which, though omitting his name, states that the eldest son of Arṇōrāja or the elder brother of Vighraharāja "rendered to him (his father) the same service as Bhṛigu's son (i.e., Paraśurāma) had rendered to his mother⁶." This statement shows that he murdered his father. The name of this parricide is, however, mentioned in the *Hamnāra-mahākāvya* as Jagadēva, who is there also stated to have succeeded his father. It is quite possible that after murdering his father he might have ascended and held the throne for some time; but as a parricide he must have naturally lost all support from his subjects, and before he could consolidate his position on the throne, he seems to have been ousted easily by his younger brother Vighraharāja. It is due to this dark character that he has been passed over in silence by our author. He is, however, not ignorant of him as he mentions the present prince Prithvirāja, as his son. The *Prith. vij.* mentions a son of Vighraharāja named Aparagāṅgēya⁶ who was his rightful successor, but it also states that he died very young and unmarried. Thus the throne passed on to Prithvirāja. This prince is here stated to have been very charitable, donating a village named **Mōrājharī** to Pārśvanātha (v. 24) the erection of whose temple the present inscription records. It may be noted that Col. Tod and Mr. Carleyle have read the name of this village as Mōrakara⁷ and Mōrakūrō⁸ respectively, the former regarding it as an independent village situated just where the Pārśvanātha temple now stands, and the latter as another name of Viṇḍhyavallī (Bijholī). But though the third constituent syllable of the name of this village looks like *kra* or *ku*, it has to be understood as *jha*. This sign occurs in a slightly altered form in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

² Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 155.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 201-212.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 276.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 276.

⁷ Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1799 (W. Crooke's ed.).

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 234.

the name of another village mentioned towards the end of l. 29, *viṣ.*, Laghu-Vijhōlī, the reading of which is certain. It is, therefore, reasonable to read the name of this village as Mōrājaharī, *i.e.*, 'a stream of pea-cocks'. No village of this name is, however, now known near about Bijhōlī. *Mōrakarā* as the name of a village occurs in the Nāḍol plates¹ of the Rājaputra Kīrtipāla of V. S. 1218, as being one of the twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāi which Alhaṇadēva and his heir-apparent Kēlhaṇa were pleased to give to Kīrtipāla. Thus, Mōrakarā or Mōrakara was a part of Kīrtipāla's possession in Mārwar at that time, and our prince could not legally donate it. This Prithvirāja is also mentioned to have attacked a prince named **Vastapāla** whose handsome elephant, Manasiddhi by name, he took away (v. 25). Vastapāla is difficult of identification. He may, on phonetic grounds be identified with Vasantapāla of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, with whose daughter prince Vigraharāja is represented to be in love. Although no prince of this name living at this period has yet been known, he surely seems to have been one contemporary of Vigraharāja as also of his successor Prithvirāja. The name, according to Prof. Kielhorn, looks as if belonging to the Tōmaras of Delhi².

Prithvirāja was succeeded by **Sōmēśvara** (v. 26). We know from other sources that the latter was the third son of Arjōrāja from his Chaulukya queen Kāñchanadēvī, the daughter of Jayasinha Siddharāja, and thus was one of the uncles of Prithvirāja. According to the *Prithh. vij.*, he passed the prime of his youth in the court of his maternal grandfather Jayasinha and uncle Kumārapāla. He is also stated to have assisted the latter in his campaign against Kōṅkaṇ. Our epigraph appears to suggest the fact of passing his youth in the Chaulukya court by saying that he obtained his paternal kingdom through the grace of Sōmēśvara (*Sōmēśvarāl-ladhva(balha)-rājyas* =, v. 26), the famous god in Snrāshṭra, who must have been a tutelary deity of the Chaulukya princes. It does not mention any historical event of his reign except that he earned through valour the *biruda* of *Pratāpalamkēśvara* (v. 27) and that he, with a desire to gain heaven, endowed Pārśvanātha on the bank of the Rēvā with a village named **Rēvaṇā** in *śāsana*, *i.e.*, in absolute charity (v. 28). It is worth noticing that this prince as well as his predecessor, both donated a village each, to this god. It is evident that the inscription was engraved on the rock when the erection of the temple was finished in V. S. 1226, the first year of the reign of Sōmēśvara. Thus, Prithvirāja's donation must have been made when the image was already installed, and his successor Sōmēśvara made his donation when the deity was enshrined in the temple. It may also be mentioned here that this installation earned for the spot a very wide reputation and within a decade the spot became so holy to the Digambaras that a mythological treatise called the *Uttama-śikhara-purāṇa* was composed and engraved on a larger rock nearby. Some scholars have called this treatise, the *Unnata-śikhara-purāṇa*³, but it is a mistake. It remains unpublished.

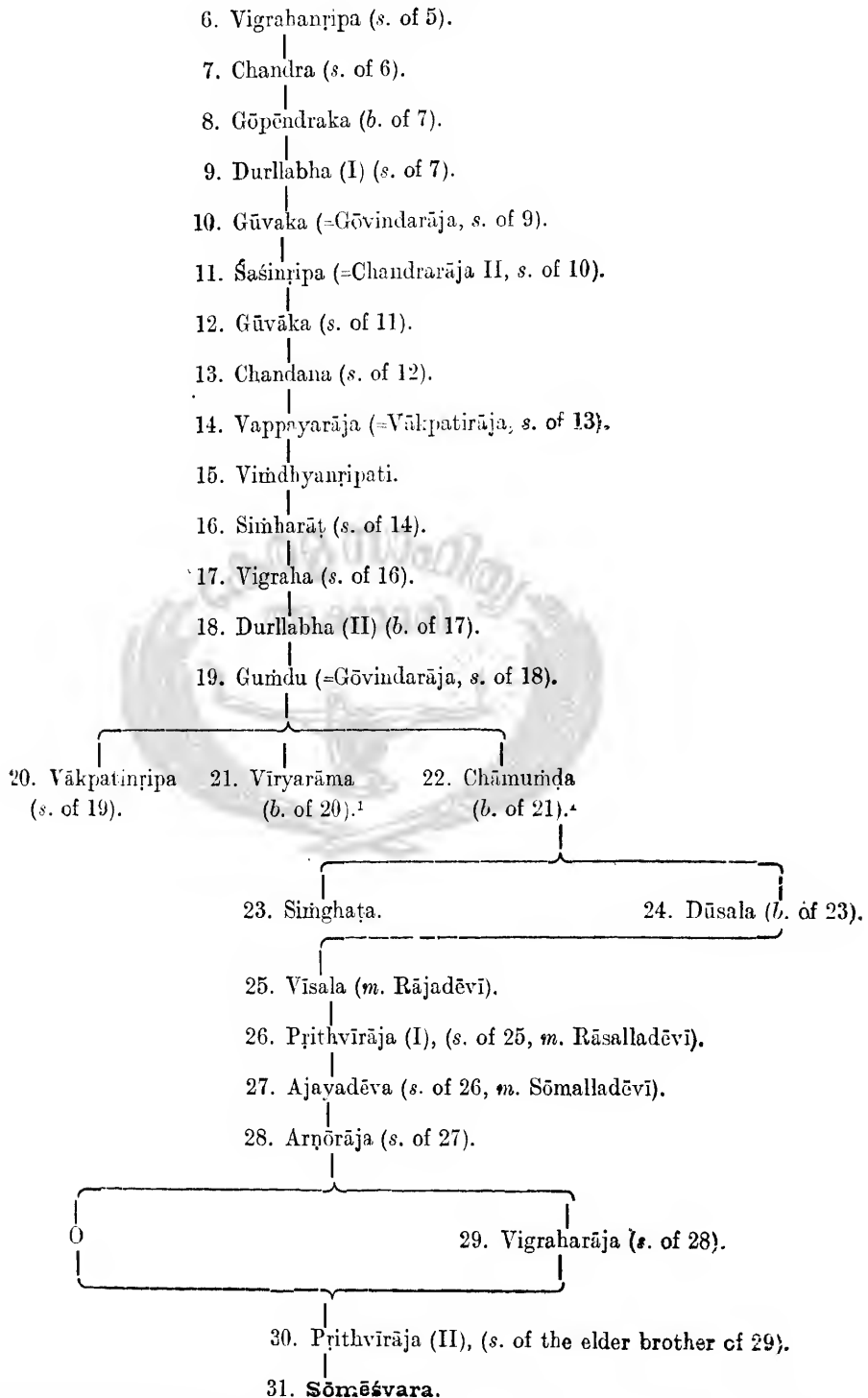
The following is the **genealogy** of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty according to the present rock inscription :—

1. Chāhamāna (the progenitor).
- |
2. Vishṇu (Vāsudēva).
- |
3. Sāmaṇta.
- |
4. Pūrṇatalla.
- |
5. Jayarāja (s. of 3).
- |

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 67.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 202, n. 1.

³ *Ojha, Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 364 ; *Erskine, Raj. Gaz.*, Vol. II-A, p. 100.



¹ Taking the word *anujah* at the end of v. 13 to refer to both 21 and 22.

From v. 29 the inscription describes the genealogy of the person who constructed the temple to Pārśvanātha. This portion opens with a fresh title, viz., *Atha Kārāpaka-vaṇś-ānukramaḥ* (l. 12), where the word *kārāpaka*, although regarded by some to be a family name¹ of the Vaiśyas like Prāgyvāta, etc., is decidedly a grammatical formation from the root *kṛi*. It does not appear to be the proper name of his family, for he is said in v. 31 to have descended in the Prāgyvāta-vaṇśa.

When the gods and the demons churned the ocean in the reign of Nārāyaṇa, at the site holy to Nēminātha (v. 29), a distinguished family, taken recourse to by the group of gods, was produced, which was located by Śatamanyu (*i.e.*, Indra) at Śrīmāla-pattana (v. 30). It was the Prāgyvāta-vaṇśa wherein was born one Vaiśravaṇa (v. 31). He built a temple to Jina at Taḍāga-pattana and also many a temple at Vyāghrēraka and other places (vv. 32-33). He begot a son named Chachchula (v. 34). His son was Śubhaṅkara; from him was born Jāsaṭa whose son was Puṇyārāṣi (v. 35). The temple of Varddhamāna situated at Nārāṇaka was built by the last named (v. 36). He had two wives who gave birth to four sons. Āmvaṭa and Padmaṭa were born of one wife while Lakṣmaṭa and Dāsala of the other (vv. 37-38). They seem to have constructed temples to Vīra (*i.e.*, Mahāvīra), at Naravara (v. 39). Lakṣmaṭa had two sons, Munimūdu and Rāmimūdu by name, while Dāsala had six sons named Duddakanātha, Mōsala, Vigaḍi, Dēvasparśa, Śiyaka and Rāhaka, in order of birth (vv. 40-42). They erected a temple to Varddhamāna at Ajayamēru (v. 43). Of them Śiyaka, an ornament to *Śrēṣṭhins*, beautified the great fort of Maṇḍalakara (v. 44). He built (probably at Maṇḍalakara) a beautiful temple of Nēminātha (v. 46). He had two wives, Nāgaśrī and Māmaṭā by name, of whom the former gave birth to three sons and the latter to two (v. 47). Thus Śiyaka had five devout sons (v. 48). Nāgadēva, Lōlāka and Ujjvala, in order of birth, were born of the former wife, and Mahidhara and Dēvadhara of the latter (v. 49). Ujjvala had two sons, Durlabha and Lakṣmaṇa by name (v. 50). Lōlāka was a special creation of god in whom were combined certain unique virtues (v. 51). He, the abode of celebrity, once came to the flourishing town of Vin[dhyava]jji and there [saw] some person standing before him [in dream] (v. 52). He asked as to who he was, what was the reason of his coming there and from where he came, to which the latter replied that he was Phaṇīśvara (the holy serpent) and said that Pārśvanātha would come over there himself from the nether world for enlightening him (v. 53). Having got up in the morning, he did not utter anything, for, the mind is not free from corruption in a state of dream (v. 54). Lōlāka had three wives, Lalitā, Kamalaśrī and Lakṣmī by name, resembling the very goddess of fortune (v. 55). The holy serpent, then (being ignored by Lōlāka) went to his devout wife Lalitā sleeping at night and said. "O blessed one! hear me. I am Dharaṇa, the holy serpent; come, I [show you] the illustrious [Pārśvanātha]" (v. 56). She then replied that what he [said regarding the deliverance and worship of the deity by herself] was not proper (*satya*), and that it was her husband who was the right person to lift up, worship and erect a temple for the god (v. 57). The serpent again approached Lōlika and observed, "O you devout, virtuous and wealthy! Pārśva (the Tirthaṅkara) has come over up to the bank of the river Revatī. Lift him up and have the virtue of erecting a *chaitya-gṛha* (temple) for the Jina, whereby you will obtain all worldly prosperity" (vv. 58-59). The serpent then describes the glory of the Bhīma-*vana* where Pārśvanātha meant to manifest himself mentioning the natural rocks of stone with which the *vana* is strewn over, as the blocks hurled down from the sky by the foolish Kamaṭha to obstruct his penance (v. 60). It is in the Bhīma-*vana* that the Uttamādrīśikhara is situated like an elevated stage, where lie the holy *tīrthas* and temples of Varalāika, Atimukta, Ghaṭṭēśvara, Kumārēśvara, Saubhāgyēśvara, Dakṣiṇēśvara, Mārkaṇḍa (Mārkaṇḍēya), Rīmchehḥēśvara, Ūmbarēśvara, Brāhmaṇ, Mahyēśvara, Kuṭilēsa, Karkkarēsa, Kapilēśvara, Mahānāla, Mahākāla.

¹ Vaidya, *His. of Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391.

[Bha]=rathēśvara, Ka(Ki)rttinātha, Kēdāra,, Saṅgamēśa, Puṭīśa, Mukh^{īśvar}a, Vaṭēśvara, Nityapramōdita, Siddhēśvara, Gayēśvara, Gaṅgābhēda, Sōmēśa, Gaṅgānātha, Purāṇitaka, Kuṭilā, Svarṇajālēśvara and Kapiladhārā (vv. 61-66)¹. Neither untimely death, nor disease, nor famine, nor want of rains is here visible (v. 67). The *tīrtha* of Kōṭīśvara cannot be adequately described where the manifestation of a phallus of Śiva takes place every six months (v. 68). It is here that Pārśvanātha will now reside and enlighten the living beings (v. 69). Having heard these words of the lord of serpents, as Lōlāka woke up in the morning and dug the earth himself, he at once saw the illustrious *Vibhu* in the proximity of the reservoir (v. 70). The place, where there had been no worship of Jina and other acts of piety had now become an abode of [Jaina worship] (v. 71). Due to Siyaka coming there, Padmā, Kshētrapāla, Ambikā, Jvālīnī and the serpent Dharāṇa also came out from inside the reservoir (v. 72). Owing to the advent of Pārśvanātha here, the column holy to the attendant deity Yaksha, situated on a hill (at the former residence of the god) fell in the Nāga-hrada, the pond of serpents (v. 73). The Yaksha also appeared before the chaste Lakshmaṇa in dream, saying that he would also go where his lord Pārśva was (v. 74). Vv. 75-85 describe the sanctity of the Rēvatī-*kuṇḍa* and the merits derivable from a bath therein. A poetical description of the temple as well as of the piety of Lōlāka is also given. From v. 83 we learn that Lōlāka's religious preceptor was one **Jinachandra Sūri** in accordance with whose injunctions the former brought into being this holy site. Vv. 86-87 describe the surroundings of the temple: the river Rēvatī to the east as also the *pura* (abode) of the deity; *maṭha-sthāna* or monastery to the south; the reservoir of water to the north; and from north to south, an orchard adorned with multifarious plantation. All these constructions including the seven *āyatanas*, i.e., temples (big and small), were caused to be made by Lōlīka.

The author of the inscription was one **Guṇabhadra**, a *maḥa-muni*, who belonged to the Mā[thū*]ra *Samgha* (v. 88). This *Samgha* is a sub-division of the well-known Kāshṭhā-*Samgha*².

The record was written by **Kēs(ś)ava**, the son of Chhītiga belonging to the Naigama lineage of the Kāyastha caste (v. 89).

The chief masons who constructed the temple to Pārśvanātha were *sūtradhāra* **Harasiga** (**Harasimha**), his son **Pālhaṇa** and grandson **Āhaḍa** (v. 90).

The record was engraved by **Gōvinda**, the son of Nāniga, and **Dōlhaṇa**, the son of Pālhaṇa.

(The temple to) the deity was completed on **Thursday, the third day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the year 1226 of the Vikrama era**, when it was *Hasta nakshatra*, *Dhṛiti yōga* and *Taitila karaṇa*, corresponding to A.D. 1170, Thursday the 5th February, taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta* as also expired³ (vv. 92-93).

The rest of the epigraph is in prose beginning with the date in numerals. It records various donations made to the temple by certain persons. Thus *Guhila-putra* Rāval **Dādharma** and *Mahattama* **Ghaṇasī(sim)ha** donated one *kshētra-dōhalī*⁴ lying midway between the villages of Kāhivā and Rēvaṇā. Gauḍa **Sōniga** and **Vāsudēva**, residents of the village Khadunivārā gave one *dōhalikā*. *Mahattama* **Līmvaḍi** and **Pōpali** of the village Rāyatā in the Āmtari sub-division (*pratigaṇaka*) gave one *kshētra-dōhalikā*. *Pārigrāhī* **Ālhaṇa**, residing in the village of Vaḍaunvā, donated one *kshētra-dōhalikā*. *Guhila-putra* Rāval **Vyāharū** and *Mahattama* **Māhava**, associated with the village of Laghu-Vijhōli, gave one *kshētra-dōhalikā*.

¹ I have noticed below that some of these gods and sites can be identified.

² This I came to know from a learned Digambara Jain ascetic, **Mahāvīrakīrti** by name.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 133, n. 21.

⁴ *Dōhalī* or *dōhalikā* is a local term applied to a piece of land of any size given for charitable purpose, free of rent.

An attempt may now be made towards identification of some of the geographical places mentioned in the latter part of the inscription. **Śrīmāla-pattana** (v. 30) is the well-known Bhīnmāl, the capital city of the ancient province of Gurjaratrā, situated about 50 miles west of Mt. Abu.¹ **Taḍāga-pattana** (v. 32) I am unable to identify. **Vyāghrēraka** (v. 33) is the same as Vavvērā (ghē)raa where Vighraharāja is represented to be, in the fourth Act of the *Lalita-Vighraharāja-nāṭaka*.² It is to be identified with modern Bāghēra³ about 47 miles to the south-east of Ajmer. **Nārāṇaka** (v. 36) may be identified with Narain in the Sāmbhar *nizāmat* in the State of Jaipur, on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, 41 miles west of Jaipur city and 43 miles north-east of Ajmer.⁴ **Naravāra** (v. 39) is the ancient Narapura situated in the Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer.⁵ **Ajayamēru** (v. 43) is evidently the modern Ajmer founded by the Chāhamāna prince Ajayadēva or Ajayarāja between A.D. 1100 and 1125.⁶ **Mamḍalakara** (v. 44) is the modern Māṇḍalgarh in the State of Udaipur.

Vindhyaavallī (v. 52) is the ancient Sanskrit name of Vijholī or Bijholī. It is also popularly known as Bijoliā or Bijoliyā which is derivable from the Skt. form Vindhyaavallikā.

Bhīma-vana (v. 60) seems to be the ancient name of the extensive forest round about the range of hills containing the great table-land called the Pathār. **Uttamādrīśikhara** (v. 61) appears to be the ancient name of the uppermost table-land popularly called the Ūparamāla, extending from Bāroli and Bhainsaror in the south to Jahāzpur in the north. The *tirtha* of **Varalāika** is a tank near Bijholī whose embankment is strewn over with ancient temples now in ruins. **Mahānāla** (v. 63) refers itself to Menāl vividly described by Tod.⁷ The temple of **Mahākāla** (v. 63), is situated well preserved outside Bijholī itself as also that of **Svarṇajālēśvara** (v. 66), now called **Hazārēśvara**.⁸ **Kapiladhārā** (v. 66) appears to be another name of Mandākinī, the holy reservoir existing at Bijholī near the Mahākāla temple. **Gaṅgābhēda** (v. 65) is evidently the Gaṅgābhēva at Bāroli mentioned by Tod.⁹ The god **Nityapramōdita** (v. 65) obviously belongs to Dhōḍ in the Jahāzpur District of Mewār, where an inscription dated in V. S. 1225 has been found recording the erection of the temple by Kumārapāla, a feudatory of Prithivīdēva, the Chāhamāna lord of Śākambharī.¹⁰

Rēvatī (v. 86) is a small river flowing by the side of the Pārśvanātha temple from which the Rēvatī-kuṇḍa reservoir (v. 75), in front of the temple, has derived its name.

Kāmavā (l. 29) is the modern Kāmā about two miles east of Bijholī. **Rōvaṇā** (l. 29) seems to be the ancient name of modern Randhōlapurā about four miles north-east of Bijholī. This is the same village which was donated to Pārśvanātha by prince Sōmēśvara. **Khadunvarā** (l. 29) appears to be the modern Khaḍipura about 6 miles south-east of Bijholī. **Rāyatā** (l. 29) is the village of the same name in the estate of Begūn, about 11 miles south-east of Bijholī. The **Āntarī** sub-division (*pratigaṇaka*) as mentioned here is quite identical with Ūparamvāla Antarī of which

¹ Dey, *Geogr. Dic.*, p. 192.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 202 and *ibid.*, n. 1.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 136.

⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new edition), p. 370.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 272, n. 2.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 163.

⁷ Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1800-05 (W. Crooke's ed.).

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 243-49.

⁹ Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1766-68 (W. Crooke's ed.).

¹⁰ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

the feudatory Kumārapāla is stated in the inscription of V. S. 1225 referred to above, to be the chief¹. It is even now the name of the tract which comprises the estate of Begūn, Singolī, Kadvāsa, Ratangarh Khedi, etc. **Vaḍaṇvā** (l. 29) is the modern Baḍaṇvā about 3 miles south of Bijholi. Laghu **Vijhōli** (l. 29) is called Chhōṭī Bijoliā at present, and is about 3 miles west of Bijholi.

Lastly it may be mentioned that this site is regarded by the Dīgambara Jains to be holy exclusively to their religion, but v. 71 of the present epigraph clearly indicates that it had become as such only after the manifestation of Pārśvanātha taking place in the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. That the whole table-land had been a Brahmanic *Ārtha* centuries before this period, and is even now no less so, hardly needs any mention.

TEXT.²

- 1 सिद्धम्³ ॥ ॐ नमो वीतरागाय ॥ चिद्रूपं सहजोदितं निरवधिं⁴ ज्ञानैकनिष्ठा-
र्यितं⁵ ।⁶ नित्योन्मीलितमुल्लसत्परकलं स्यात्कारविस्फारितं(तम्) [।*] सुव्यक्तं पर-
माद्भुतं शिवसुखानंदास्पदं शास्त्र(श्व)तं ।⁷ नौमि स्तौमि जपामि यामि शरणं
तज्ज्योतिरात्मो[त्थितं(तम्)] ॥१॥⁸ नास्तं गतः कुग्रहसंग्रहो न ।⁹ नो तीव्र-
तेजा
- 2 ८ ८ — ८ — [वः । — — ८ — नैव सुदुष्टदेहोऽपूर्वो रवि स्तात्स
सुदेवघो⁷ वः ॥२॥⁸ [स*] भूयाच्छीशांतिः शुभविभवभंगीभवभृतां ।⁹ विभोर्य-
स्याभाति स्फुरितनखरोचिः करयुगं(गम्) । विनम्राणामेषामखिलकृतिनां मंगल-
मयीं ।¹⁰ स्थिरोक्तुं लक्ष्मीमुपरचितरज्जुव्रजमिव ॥३॥⁹ नाशा(सा)स्वा(श्वा)मेन
येन प्रबलबलभृता पूरितः पांचजन्यः ।⁵
- 3 — — — ८ — — वरदलमलि[नी]¹⁰ पादपद्माग्रदेशैः । हस्तांगुष्ठेन शांगं-
(शाङ्गं) घ(ध)नुरतुलव(व)लं कृष्टमारोप्य विष्णो ।¹¹ रंगुल्यादोलितोयं हल¹¹भृदव-
नतिं तस्य नेमेस्तनोमि ॥४॥¹² प्रांशुप्राकारकांता¹³ चिदशपरिवृढव्यूह[रु]द्रावकाशां ।⁹

¹ Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

² Transcribed from the original rock at Bijholi.

³ Indicated by a symbol.

⁴ Read *niravadhi*.

⁵ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ The word *Vṛisha* indicates the name of the first Tīrthānkara Rishabhadēva, who (by breaking the euphonic combination) is to be regarded as *avṛisha*, i.e., not having to ascend the second sign of the zodiac, in contrast to the Sun.

⁸ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁹ Metre: *Sikharinī*.

¹⁰ The word *alinī* means 'a swarm of bees'. It may also mean 'female Jaina devotees'. But it here means something else which was vanquished by the toes of his feet.

¹¹ There is an *anuvāsa* over *bhṛi*, which is redundant.

¹² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹³ Read *prākāra-kāvatām*.

वाचालां कंतुकोटि[क]णदनणुमणोकिंकिणोभिः समंतात् । यस्य व्याख्यानभूमी-
महह किमिदमित्याकुलाः कौतुकेन प्रेक्षन्ति प्राणभाजः

4 [स भु*][वि] विजयतां तीर्थक्षत्पास्व(र्श)नायः¹ ॥५॥² वर्द्धतां वर्द्धमानस्य³ वर्द्धमान-
महोदयः । वर्द्धतां वर्द्धमानस्य⁴ वर्द्धमान[मह]ोदयः ॥६॥⁵ सारदां सारदां
स्त्वामि सारदानविसारदां(दाम्) । भारतीं भारतीं भक्तभुक्तिमुक्तिविशारदां(दाम्)⁷
॥७॥⁸ निःप्रत्यूह⁹मुपास्महे जिनपतीनन्यानपि स्वामिनः ।¹⁰ श्रीनाभेयपुरस्सरान् पर-
कृपापीयूषपाथोनिधौन् । ये ज्यो(ज्यो)तिःपरभागभाज-

5 नतया मुक्तात्मतामा[श्रि]ताः श्रीमन्मुक्तिनितंवि(वि)नौस्तनतटे हारश्रियं वि(वि)भ्रति
॥८॥¹¹ भव्यानां हृदयाभिरामवसतिः सङ्घर्ष[म][र्म्भ*]स्थितिः कर्म्मोन्मूलनसंगतिः
सु(शु)भ्रततिः¹² निर्व्वर्(र्व्वी)धवो(वो)धोद्धतिः [।*] जीवानामुपकारकारणरतिः श्रेयः-
श्रियां संसृतिः¹³ देयान्मे भवसंभ्रतिः शिव[म]तिं जैनै¹⁴ चतुर्व्विंश(श्र)तिः
॥९॥¹¹ श्रीचाहमानक्षितिराजवंशः पौर्व्वोप्यपूर्व्वो नि(न) जडावनहः । भिन्नो
न¹⁵ चां-

6 [गो*] [न च] रंभ्रयुक्तो नो निःफलः¹⁶ सारयुतो नतो नो ॥१०॥¹⁷ लावण्यनिर्म-
लमहोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लितांगयष्टिरच्छोच्छलच्छुचिपयःपरिधानधा[त्री][। उत्तु*]गपर्व्वत-
पयोधरभारभुग्ना¹⁸ शाकंभ[रा]जनि जनीव ततोपि विष्णोः ॥११॥¹⁹ विप्रः श्री-
वत्सगोत्रेभूदहच्छि[त्र*]पुरे पुरा । सामंतोनंतसामंतः पूर्णतस्त्रे(स्त्रो) नृपस्ततः ॥१२॥⁸
तस्माच्छ्रीजयराजविग्रहनृपौ श्रीचंद्रगोपेन्द्रकौ तस्माद्[स्त्रे]भगवकौ शशि-

¹ The word *tīrthakṛit* is used as a variant for *Tīrthāṅkara*.

² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

³ Of *Varddhamaṇa*, i.e., *Mahāvīra*, the twenty-fourth apostle.

⁴ Of the town of *Varddhamaṇa* with which is associated the birth of *Mahāvīra*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ There is an *anusvāra* over *sū*, which is superfluous.

⁷ The verse apparently aims at adoring the goddess of eloquence under two of her names, viz., *Sārādā* and *Bhārati*. The author appears to adore her as the latter in the form of the *prīti* called *Bhārati* defined as 'भारती सख्यप्रिया वाग्ब्यापारी नटाग्रयः ।' (*Sāhitya-darpana*, ch. VI, v. 29).

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Read *Nishpratyaṇam* =.

¹⁰ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹¹ Metre: *Sārdulavikṛīḍā*.

¹² Read *-tatir=ni*.

¹³ Read *samsṛitir=dēyān* =.

¹⁴ Read *Jaini*.

¹⁵ This *na* is to be construed with both *bhinnō* and *=ām[go*]* according to the *kāk-ākṣhi-gōlaku* maxim.

¹⁶ Read *nishphalaḥ*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁸ Strictly speaking, the form should have been *Śākambharī*, but the addition of *īp* for the feminine form here suggests that the author has regarded the word *Śākambhara* as belonging to *ajādi-gaṇa*.

¹⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

- 7 नृपो गूवाक¹सच्चंदनौ [1*] श्रीमद्वप्यराजविंध्यनृपती श्रीसिंहराज्वि(डि)ग्रही ।²
 श्रीमदुर्लभगुं दुवाक्पतिनृपाः श्रीवीर्यरामोऽनुजः ॥१३॥³ [चामुंड]ोऽवनिपे(पो)ऽति(य)
 श्व⁴ राणकवरः श्रीसिंघटो दूसलस्तद्वाताथ ततोपि वीसलनृपः श्रीराजदेवोप्रियः
 [1*] पृथ्वीराजनृपोय तत्त⁵नुभू(भ)वो रासल्लदेवीविभुस्तत्पुत्रोजयदेव इत्यवनिपः
 सोमल्लदेवीपतिः ॥१४॥³ हत्वा⁶ चच्चिगसिंधलाभिधयसो(शो)राजादिवीरत्रयं ।²
- 8 क्षिप्रं क्रूरकृतांतवक्त्रकुहरि श्रीमार्गदुर्द्वा(र्द्वा)न्वितं(तम्) । श्रीमत्तो[ल्ल]णदंडनायकवरः
 संश्रामरंगांगणि जौवंने(वन्ने)व नियंत्रितः करभक्ते येन ८ — — [क्षि]सात्
 ॥१५॥⁷ अक्षोराजोस्य सूनुर्दृढहृदयहरिः सत्ववांशि(वाञ्छि)ष्टसीमो गांभीर्योदायव-
 (व)र्यः समभवद[चि]रालध्व(ल्लध्व)मध्यो न दीनः । तच्चित्रं जंन(यन्न) जाद्य(द्य)-
 स्थितिरद्वयमहापंकहेतुर्न मथ्या न श्रीमुक्तो न दोषाकररचितरतिर्न द्विजिह्वाधि-
 सेव्यः ॥१६॥⁸ यद्राज्यं
- 9 यद्राज्यं⁹ कुशवारणं प्रतिकृतं राजाकुशेन स्वयं ।¹⁰ येनात्रैव नु¹¹ चित्रमेतत्पुन¹²र्मन्या-
 महे तं प्रति । तच्चित्रं प्रतिभासते सुकृतिना निर्व्याणनारायण्यकाराचरणेन
 भंगकरणं श्रीदेवराजं प्रति¹³ ॥१७॥⁷ कुवलयविकासकर्ता विग्रहराजोजनि(नौ)-
 [स्तु(ति)] नो चित्रं(त्रम्) । तत्तनयस्तच्चित्रं य[न्न] जडक्षीणसकलंकः ॥१८॥¹⁴
 भादानत्वं¹⁵ चक्रे भादानपतेः¹⁶ परस्य भादानः¹⁷ [1*] यस्य दधत्करवालः
 करालतां

¹ The syllable *ka*, having been first left by mistake, was later on engraved above the line.

² This *danḍa* is superfluous.

³ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ This is a superfluous syllable.

⁵ There is a superfluous *virāma* stroke below *ta*.

⁶ Better read *Dattvā* or *kshiptvā*.

⁷ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

⁹ These three syllables are repeated by mistake.

¹⁰ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

¹¹ The medial *u* sign here resembles the *virāma* stroke.

¹² Read '*m=clad-apunar=*, taking *apunar* as meaning *na punar*.

¹³ This is one of the ambiguous verses in the record. It may be noted that what is mentioned in its first half as not appearing strange is to be construed both with the prince and with the ocean (*arṇorāja*); and what is mentioned in the second half, is to be taken as strange with reference to the ocean only. It would thus mean :— 'that the ocean whose director is the moon (*rāj-āṃkuśēna*), handed over (*pratikṛitam*) the mad elephant (*kuśa-rāraṇam*), i.e., Anāvata, to Indra (*Dēvarāja* of the second half); and that the prince who was a goad to kings (*rāj-āṃkuśēna*), revenged (*pratikṛitam*), the kingdom of Kuśa and Vāraṇa (*Kuśa-Vāraṇam*), is not to be wondered at. But that he (the prince), having insulted Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, brought about the ruin of *Dēvarāja* (meaning god of gods, i.e., the same Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, the Paramāra prince Naravarman), is really strange with reference to the ocean which neither insulted Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) nor ruined *Dēvarāja* (Indra).'

¹⁴ Metre : *Āryā*.

¹⁵ Means 'the act of absorbing lustre,' with reference to *parasya*.

¹⁶ This word is adjectival to *yasya* in the third quarter. It means 'of him who was *bhū-patiḥ* (the most illustrious) and *ādāna-patiḥ* (all acquiring).

¹⁷ Means 'emitting forth lustre'. It qualifies *karabālah*.

- 10 करतलाकलितः ॥१८॥¹ कृतांतपथसज्जोभूत्सज्जनोसज्जनो भुवः । वैकुंतं² कुंतपालो-
गा[द्यत]ो वै कु[त]पालकः ॥२०॥³ जावालिपुरं ज्वाला[पु]रं कृता पालिकापि
पल्लीव । नद्ध(डु)लतुन्यं रोषान्नदू(डू)लं येन सौ(शौ)र्येण ॥२१॥¹ प्रतोल्यां
च वलभ्यां च येन विश्रामितं यशः । ढिल्लिकाग्रहणस्यांतमाशिकालाभलं-
भितं(तम्) ॥२२॥³ तज्ज्येष्ठभ्रातृपुत्रोऽभृत्युज्जीराजः पृथूपमः । तस्मादज्जितहेमांगो⁴
हेमपर्वतदानतः ॥२३॥³ अतिधर्मरतेना-
- 11 पि पार्श्वनाथस्वयंभुवे । दत्त⁵ मोराज्ञरीग्रामं⁶ भुक्तिमुक्तिश्च⁷ हेतुना ॥२४॥⁸ स्वर्णादि-
दाननिवहैर्दशभिर्महद्भिस्तोलानरैर्नगरदानचयैश्च विप्राः । येनार्चिताश्चतुरभूपति-
वस्तुपालमाक्रम्य चारुमनसिद्धिकरी गृहीतः ॥२५॥¹⁰ सोमेश्वराक्षध्व(ब्)राज्यस्ततः
सोमेश्व(श्च)रो नृपः [।*] सोमेश्व(श्च)र¹¹नतो यस्माज्जनः सोमेश्व(श्च)रो¹²भवत्
॥२६॥⁸ प्रतापलंकेस्व(श्च)र इत्यभिख्यां यः प्राप्तवान् प्रौढपृथुप्रतापः [।*]
यस्याभिमुख्ये वरवैरिमुखाः केचिन्मृता¹³ केचिदभिद्रुताश्च ॥२७॥¹⁴ येन श्री-
- 12 पार्श्वनाथाय रेवातीरे स्वयंभुवे । सा(शा)सने¹⁵ रेवणाग्रामं⁶ दत्त¹⁶ स्वर्गाय कान्तया
॥२८॥⁸ छ ॥ अथ कारापक¹⁷वंशानुक्रमः ॥ तीर्थे श्रीनेमिनाथस्य राज्ये नारा-
यणस्य च । अंभोधिमथनादेवव(व)लिभिर्व्व(ब्ब)¹⁸लशालिभिः ॥२९॥⁸ निर्गतः
प्रवरो वंशो ह्रिं(दे)वहृदैः समाश्रितः । श्रीमालपत्तने स्थाने स्थापितः शतम-
न्युना ॥३०॥⁸ श्रीमालशैलप्रवरावचूलः प(पू)र्व्वोत्तरः सत्वगुरुः सुव्रत(त्त): ।
प्राग्वाटवंशोऽस्ति व(व)भूव तस्मिन्मुक्तोपमो वैश्रवणाभिधानः¹⁹ ॥३१॥²⁰ तडागपत्तने
येन कारितं

¹ Metre : Āryā.

² Read *vaikuntyaṁ*, 'the state of lancelessness'. ³ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ *Hēmaṅga* here means the mountain Sumēru. That he (the prince) gave in charity gold in heaps shows that he had earned the said golden mountain itself.

⁵ Read *dattō*.

⁶ Read *-grāmō*.

⁷ Read *-muktyōś=cha*.

⁸ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ *Tōlānarair=*, i.e., 'in men's weight'. *Tōlē ā samantāt narā yēśhām, taih*. [Possibly the reading is °s=*tōlābhārarair=* meaning *tulābhārarair=*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ *Umāyā sahitaḥ sō=maḥ, evambhūtō ya īśvaraḥ Śivah, tasmai nataḥ*.

¹² *Sah Um-īśvaraḥ Umāyāḥ īśvaraḥ patiḥ arthāt Śivah abhavaḥ*.

¹³ Read *=mrīṭāḥ*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ *Śāsana*, with reference to land-grants, means in local circles 'absolute charity.'

¹⁶ Read *dattaḥ*.

¹⁷ *Kārāpaka* does not seem to be the proper name of any Vaiśya family as some scholars have thought (C. V. Vaidya, *His. Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391). It is a wrong form from the root *kri* in a double causative sense which is found also in other inscriptions. It refers to him who caused the erection of the Pārśvanātha temple.

¹⁸ The word *Va(Ba)libhiḥ* conveys the idea of the whole demon class according to the maxim '*prādhānyēna vyapadēśā bhavanti*,' for, Bali was the chief of that class.

¹⁹ If we take *vai* as a particle of affirmation, the name of this person would be Śrāvapa.

²⁰ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

- 13 जिनमंदिरं(रम्) । [तीर्त्वा] भ्रांत्वा यस(श)स्तत्वमेकत्र स्थिरतां गतां(तम्) ॥३२॥¹
 योऽचौकरचंद्रसु(शु)रि(चि)प्रभाणि व्याघ्ररकादौ जिनमंदिराणि । कीर्त्तिद्रुमारा-
 मसमृद्धिहेतोर्विभांति कंदा इव यान्यमंदाः² ॥३३॥³ कल्लोलमांसलितकीर्त्तिसुडा-
 (धा)समुद्रः ।⁴ सद्गु(हु)द्विवं(वं)धुरवधुधु(ध)रणे ध[री(रि)शः⁵ ।] [भू*][त]ी-
 पकारकरणप्रगुणांतरात्मा श्रीचचुलस्वतनयः [८ ८ —]⁶ पदेऽभूत् ॥३४॥⁷
 शुभंकरस्तस्य सुतोजनिष्ट शिष्टैर्महिष्ठैः परिकीर्त्यकीर्त्तिः ॥(१) श्रीजामटोसूत⁸
 तदंगजन्मा यदंगजन्मा खलु पुण्यरासि(शि)॥⁹ ॥३५॥¹⁰ मंदिरं वर्द्ध-
- 14 मानस्य श्रीनाराणकसंस्थितं(तम्) । भाति यत्कारितं स्त्रीयपुण्यस्वंधमिवोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं-
 (लम्) ॥३६॥¹¹ चत्वारश्चतुराचाराः पुत्राः पात्रं शुभश्रियः । अमुष्यामुष्यधर्माणो
 र्व(व)भूवुर्भार्ज्ज(र्य)योर्दयोः ॥३७॥¹² एकस्यां द्वावजायेतां श्रीमदाम्बटपद्मटौ ।
 अपरस्यां [सु][ती जातो*] [श्रीमल्ल]क्ष्मटदंसलौ ॥३८॥¹³ पाकाणां¹² नरवर¹³ वीर-
 वेश्मकारणपाटवं(वम्) । प्रकटितं¹⁴ स्त्रीयवित्तेन घा(धा)नु(तु)नेव महीतलं(लम्)
 ॥३९॥¹⁵ पुत्रौ पवित्रौ गुणरत्नपात्रौ विशुद्धगात्रौ सममी(शी)लसत्त्वौ(त्त्वौ) [।*]
 व(व)भूवतुल्लक्ष्मटकस्य जैत्रौ सुनीदुगमैदभिद्वौ(धौ) प्रस(श)स्तौ(स्तौ) ॥४०॥¹⁶
- 15 ¹⁵षट्(ट्खं)डागमवडसौहृदभराः¹⁶ षड्जीवरत्नेश्वराः¹⁷ षट्भे(ड्भे)देन्द्रियवस्य(श्य)तापरिकराः¹⁸
 षट्संज्ञक(क्ल)मादराः¹⁹ [।*] षट्षं(ट्खं)डावनिकीर्त्तिपालनपराः²⁰ ष(षा)ट्गु(ड्गु)-

¹ Metre : *Anushtubh*.

² The simile here is rhetorically a bit faulty inasmuch as the subject of comparison is in the neuter gender, while the standard of comparison is in the masculine.

³ Metre : *Upajāti*.

⁴ This *danda* is superfluous.

⁵ *Dhar-ēśaḥ* should be expounded as *Dharaś=ch=āsau īśaś=cha* meaning 'lord Viṣṇu in his *Kūrma* incarnation when he upheld the earth.'

⁶ Syllables within these brackets are wanting in the text. They have neither been engraved, nor due space has been left for them.

⁷ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ The transitive verb *sū* 'to beget or produce' is here used intransitively.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

¹⁰ Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹¹ Metre : *Anushtubh*.

¹² Read *Prakīrṇam* as adverbial to the verb in the third quarter and also as predicate to the subject of the fourth quarter. [Reading of these three syllables is uncertain.—Ed.]

¹³ Better read *Nyivare* to suit the metre.

¹⁴ Better change this verb to *prathitam* for the sake of the metre.

¹⁵ The religious and the philosophical principles finding mention in this as well as in verso 48, decidedly belong to the Digambara Jaina school of thought.

¹⁶ षट्खंडागम appears to refer to the *āgamas* or religious literature pertaining to the six divisions of the cosmos, called *dravyas* which are जीव, धर्म, अधर्म, आकाश, काल and पुद्गल.

¹⁷ षड्जीव are पृथ्वी, अप्, तेजस्, वायु, वनस्पति and त्वस् of which the former five are regarded as स्थावर being possessed of one इन्द्रिय only, while the last is the name given to जीव possessed of more than one इन्द्रिय.

¹⁸ There are only five इन्द्रिय, viz., 'स्पर्शनरसनग्राणचक्षुशीवाणि' (*Umāsvāmī's Tattvārthasūtra*, Ch. II, sū. 19); but मनस् which is regarded as an इन्द्रिय seems to have also been included here.

¹⁹ षट्कर्म of ६ आवाक are enumerated in the following couplet of the *Umāsvāmīśrāvākāchāra* :—

देवपूजा गुरुपाणिः स्वाध्यायः संयमस्तपः ।

दानं चिति गृहस्थानां षट्कर्माणि दिने दिने ॥

²⁰ According to the Digambara Jaina doctrine, there are six खंड of the earth, of which one is the आर्यखंड between the Ganges and the Indus, and the rest are श्रेच्छखंड outside this region.

खचित्ताकराः¹ षट्(डट्ट)ष्टव(वु)जभास्करा[.*]² समभवः³ षट्दे(डदे)शलस्यांगजाः
॥४१॥⁴ श्रेष्टी(ष्टी) दुहकनायकः प्रथमकः श्रीमोसलो वीगडिर्वस्पर्श इतोपि
सीयकवरः श्रीराहको नामतः । एते तु क्रमतो जिनक्रमयुगांभोजैकभृंगोपमा
मान्या राजशतैर्वदान्यमतयोः⁶ राजन्ति जंबू(वु)त्सवाः⁷ ॥४२॥⁴ हर्म्य श्रीवर्हमान-
स्याजयमेरोर्विभूषणं(णम्) [1*] कारितं यैस्महाभागैर्वि-

16 मानमिव नाकिनां(नाम्) ॥४३॥⁸ तेषामंतः श्रियः पाचं [सीय]कः श्रेष्टि(ष्टि)भूषणं-
(णम्) । मंडलकरमहादुर्गं भूषयामास भूतिना⁹ ॥४४॥⁸ यो न्यायांकुरसेचनैक-
जलदः कीर्त्ति(र्त्ते)र्निधानं परं ।¹⁰ सौजन्यांव(वु)जिनोविकासनरवः पापादि-
भेदे पविः [1*] कारुण्यामृतवारिधेर्विलसने राकाश[सं(शां)]को[प]मी नित्यं
साधुजनोपकारकरणव्यापारव(व)द्वादरः ॥४५॥⁴ येनाकारि जितारिर्नमिभवनं देव -
द्रिष्टृगोदुरं चंचत्वांचनचारुदंडकलसश्रेणिप्रभाभास्वरं(रम्) । खेलत्खेचरसुंदरोश्चमभरं
भंजङ्गुजोहोजनैर्वेत्तेष्टापदशैलमृ(श्रु)गजिनभृत्प्रोद्दामसद्मश्रियं(यम्) ॥४६॥⁴ श्रीसीयकस्य
भार्ये हे

17 सौ¹¹ नागश्रीमामटाभिवे(धे) । आद्यायास्तु स्त(च)यः पुत्रा द्वितीयायाः सुतद्वयं(यम्)
॥४७॥⁸ पंचाचारपरायणात्ममतयः¹² ।¹⁰ पंचांगमंत्रोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लाः¹³ ।¹⁰ पंचज्ञानविचारणा-
सुचतुराः¹⁴ ।¹⁰ पंचेंद्रियार्थोज्ज्याः¹⁵ । श्रीमत्पंचगुरुप्रणाममनसः¹⁶ पंचाणुशुद्धताः¹⁷ पंचेते

¹ I do not know the exact conception of षड्दृष्टि. It is, perhaps identical with the sixfold political expedients, viz., संधि, वियह, दान, आसन, वैधीभाव and आश्रय.

² षड्दृष्टि here seems to have been used for षड्दर्शन, viz., लोकायतिक, सौगत, सांख्य, योग, प्राभाकर and जैमिनीय.

³ Read *samabhavan*.

⁴ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ *Krama* here means 'foot'.

⁶ Read *-matayō*.

⁷ Meaning 'joy of Jambū(-dvīpa)'.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ The correct form of this word in the sense of 'splendour' should be *bhūtyā*.

¹⁰ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

¹¹ This syllable seems to be superfluous.

¹² The five आचार^s are दर्शनाचार, ज्ञानाचार, वीर्याचार, चारित्राचार and तपश्चाचार as given in the following *gāthā* :—

दंसणणाणपहाणे वीरियचारित्तवरतवायारे ।

अप्यं परं च जुंजइ सो आयरिओ मुणी भेओ ॥

(Némichandra's *Dravya-saṅgraha*, ch. III, gā. 52).

¹³ पंचांगमंत्र appears to refer to *mantras* classified under five heads, viz., आह्वान, स्थापन, संनिधिकरण, पूजन and विसर्जन, for the worship of the god.

¹⁴ पंचज्ञान^s are embodied in the *sūtra* 'मतिश्रुतावधिमनःपर्ययकैवलानि ज्ञानम् ।' (Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. I, sū. 9).

¹⁵ The five इन्द्रियार्थ^s are embodied in the *sūtra* 'स्पर्शरसगंधवर्षशब्दास्तदर्थाः ।' (Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. II, sū. 20).

¹⁶ The five गुरु^s are अहंत्, सिद्ध, आचार्य, उपाध्याय and सर्वसाधु as embodied in the well-known sacred Jaina *mantra*,

शमी अरहंताणं शमी सिद्धाणं शमी आइरीयाणं ।

शमी उवक्कायाणं शमी लोए सब्बसाहणं ॥

¹⁷ These five व्रत^s are embodied in the following *sūtra* :—

'हिंसाऽदृतस्तेयान्नक्षपपरियहेभ्यो विरतिव्रतम् ।'

(Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. VII, sū. 1).

तनया गृह[तेवि]नयाः श्रीसीयकश्रेष्ठिनः ॥४८॥¹ आद्य[ः*] श्रीनागदेवोऽभूत्तो-
लाकश्रेष्ठ(ज्व)लस्तथा । महीधरो देवधरो द्वावेतावन्यमाटजौ ॥४९॥² उज्व-
(ज्व)लस्यांगजन्मानौ श्रीम[द्]र्जभलक्ष्मणौ । अभूतां भुवनोद्भासयसो(श्री)दुर्लभ-
लक्ष्मणौ ॥५०॥³ गांभोर्य जलधेः स्थिरत्वमचलात्तेज-

- 18 स्विता(तां) भास्वतः ।⁴ सौम्यं चंद्रमसः सु(शु)चिखममरश्रो(स्रो)तस्विनीतः परं(रम्)
[*] एकैकं परिगृह्य विस्व(श्व)विदि[तो] यो वेधसा सादरं मन्ये वी(वी)ज-
कृते कृतः⁵ सुकृतिना सः⁶ लोक्कश्रेष्ठि(ष्ठि)नः ॥५१॥¹ अथागमन्मं[दिरमं]ष
कोर्तेः श्रीवि[ध्यव]ल्ली धनधान्यव(व)ल्ली(ल्लीम्) । तच्चालु[लोचे ह्यभि*][तल्प-
सुप्तः] कंचिन्नरसं(शं) पुरतः स्थितं सः ॥५२॥⁶ उवाच कस्त्वं किमिहाभ्युपेतः
कुतः स तं प्राह फणीस्व(श्व)रोहं(हम्) । पातालमूलान्तव देशनाय [श्री*]-
पार्श्वनाथः स्वयमेष्यतीह ॥५३॥⁶ प्रातस्तेन समुत्थाय न कं(किं)चन विवेचितं-
(तम्) । स्वप्नस्थांतर्म्ननोभावा यतो वातादिद्रुषिताः ॥५४॥² लोला-

- 19 क[स्य] प्रियास्तिश्रो(स्रो) व(व)भूवुर्धनसः प्रियाः ॥(1) ललिता कमलश्रीश्च लक्ष्मी-
र्लक्ष्मीसनाभयः ॥५५॥² ततः स भक्तां ललितां व(व)भाषे गत्वा प्रियां तस्य
निशि(शि) प्रसुप्तां(साम्) [*] शृणुष्व भद्रे धरणीहमेहि श्री[पार्श्वनाथ*] [खलु
दर्शयामि ॥५६॥⁶ तया स चोक्तो [म] — — — — — य-
[त्व(त्वं) न(न) हि] सत्यमेतत्⁸ । श्रीपार्श्वनाथस्य समुद्धृतिं स प्रासादमर्च्चा
च करिष्यतीह ॥५७॥⁶ गत्वा पुनर्लोकिकमेवमूचे भो भक्तशक्तानुगतातिरक्त ।⁹
देवे धने धर्मविधौ जिनेष्टौ श्रीरेवतीतौरमिहाप पार्श्वः ॥५८॥¹⁰ समुद्धरेनं
कुर(रु) धर्मकार्यं त्वं कारय श्रीजिनचै-

- 20 त्यगेहं । येनाप्ससि श्रीकुलकीर्त्तिपुत्रपौत्रोरुसंतानसुखादिद्वि(द्वि) ॥५९॥⁶ त[दे]-
[तद्गी*]माख्यं व(व)नमिह निवासी जिनपतेस्त एते ग्रावाणाः(णः) शठकमठ¹¹मुक्ता
गगनतः । सधा(दा)रा[मः] [शश्वत्*]दुपचयतः कुंडमरित(तो)स्तदत्रैतत् स्थानं
— — — [नि]गमं प्राप परमं(मम्) ॥६०॥¹² अत्राख्युत्तममुत्तमादि(द्रि)सिष(शिख)रं

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

³ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁴ Something like *saṃgrahaḥ* has to be understood here as object to *krīṭaḥ*. [The correct reading is *Lōllakāḥ śrēṣṭhi(śhṭhi)naḥ* in which case *Lōllakāḥ* is the object of *krīṭaḥ*.—Ed.]

⁵ *Visarga* is here ungrammatical. It seems to have been retained for the sake of the metre. Better read *sukṛitīn-āsau*.

⁶ Metre : Upajāti.

⁷ *Satyam* here seems to have been used in the sense of *uchitam*, 'right or proper'.

⁸ The *virāma* sign here resembles that of medial *ā*.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is joined to the top line of the previous syllable.

¹⁰ Metre : Indravajrā.

¹¹ *Kamaṭha*, also called *Kamaṭha-purusha*, is a mythological figure in Jaina religion who had disturbed the penance of Pārśvanātha by hurling down blocks of stone from the sky.

¹² Metre : Śikharinī.

- ¹² Read *nishprākṛit-ākariṇām*.

- 23 नाशी(सी)द्यत्र जिनेद्रपादनमनं नो धर्मकर्मार्जनं [न] [स्नानं*] न विलेपनं न च तपो ध्यानं न दानार्चनं(नम्) । नो वा सन्मुनिदर्शनं [न] [८ ८ — — — ८ — — ८ —]¹[द्यत्रेतन्निखिलं बभूव सदनं] — — ८ — — ८ — [॥७०(७१)]² तत्कुंडमध्यादय निर्जगाम श्रीसीयकस्यागमनेन पद्मा । श्रीचेत्रपालस्तदथावि(वि)का च [श्रीज्वा]लिनी श्रीधरणोरगेन्द्रः ॥७१(७२)³ यदा-वतारम⁴कार्पीदत्र पार्श्वजिनेस्व(श्व)रः [।*] तदा नागह्रदे यक्षगिरिस्तं वः(वः) प्रपात⁵ सः ॥७२(७३)⁶ यक्षोपि दत्तवान् स्वप्नं लक्ष्मणः⁷ ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणः । तत्राहमपि यास्यामि यत्र पार्श्वविभुर्मम ॥७३(७४)⁸ रेवतीकुंड-
- 24 नीरेण या नारी स्नानमाचरेत् [।*] सा पुत्रं भर्तृसौभाग्यं [ल][क्ष्मीं च*] [ल]भते स्थिरं(रम्) ॥७४(७५)⁹ ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वापि [वि][श्यो वा शूद्र एव वा । रेव*]तीस्नानकर्ता [यः*] स प्राप्नोत्युत्तमां गतो(तिम्) ॥७५(७६)¹⁰ ध[नं] धा[नं(न्यं)] ध[रां] धाम धै[र्यं] धीर्यतां धियं(यम्) । धराधिपतिसन्मानं लक्ष्मीं चाप्नोति पुष्कलां(लाम्) ॥७६(७७)¹¹ तीर्थार्थ्यमिदं जनेन विदितं यद्वीयते सांप्रतं कुम्भ(ष्ठ)प्रेतपिशाचकुज्वररुजाहीनांगंडापहं(हम्) । संन्यासं च चकार निर्गतभयं घूकसृगालीदयं काकी नाकमवाप देवकलया किं किं न संपद्यते ॥७७(७८)¹² श्लाघ्यं जन्म कृतं धनं च सफलं नीता प्रसिद्धिं मतिः ।¹³
- 25 सद्भर्मीपि च दर्शितस्तनुरुहस्वप्नोर्पित[।*] सत्यता(ताम्) । — — — ८ रट्टिष्टदूषितमनाः सट्ट(ट्ट)ष्टिमाग्नी कृतो जै[ने] — ८ ८ — ८ — [सुकृति]ना श्रीलोलकश्रेष्ठिनः ॥७८(७९)¹⁴ किं मेरोः शृंगमितत् किमुत हिमगिरिः कूटकोटिप्रकांडं किं वा कैलासकूटं किमथ सुरपते¹⁵ स्वर्विमानं विमानं(नम्) [।*] इत्थं यत्तर्क्यते स्म प्रतिदिनममरैर्म(र्म)र्त्यराजोत्तरैर्वा मन्ये श्रीलोलकस्य त्रिभुवनभरणादुच्छ्रितं कीर्त्तिपुंजं(जम्) ॥७९(८०)¹⁶ पवनधुतपत(ता)कापाणितो भव्यमुख्यान् पटुपटहनिनादादाह्वयत्वेप जैनः । कलिकलुपमथोच्चैर्ह्रमुत्सारयेद्वा त्रिभुवनवि-

¹ Remnants of some of the lost syllables within these brackets are no doubt visible, but are difficult of restoration.

² Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Metre : *Indrarajārā*.

⁴ Read 'm=ākārshid= for the sake of the metre, taking ū to mean *samantāt*. Or read °m=akarōd=.

⁵ Read *papāta*.

⁶ Metre : *Anuśṭubh*.

⁷ Omit *visarga* and read *lakshmana-vra(bra)hma°*.

⁸ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *surapatēh*.

¹⁰ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

- 26 [भु][ला*]भानृत्यतीवालयोयं(यम्) ॥८०(८१)॥¹ [काश्चि*][त्स्या]नकमाधरंति दधते
काश्चिच्च गीतोत्सवं काश्चिद्दि(द्वि)भ्रति तालव(क) स(सु)ललितं कुर्वति नृत्यं
च काः । काश्चिद्वाद्यमुपानयंति निभृतं ।² वौणास्वरं काश्चन यच्चोच्चैर्द्विजकिं-
किणौयुवतयः केषां मुदे नाभवन् ॥८१(८२)॥³ यः सद्गुत्तयुतः सुदीप्तिकलितस्वा-
सादिदोषोज्झितस्थिताख्यातपदार्थदानचतुरर्थितामणिः सोदरः । सोभूच्छ्रीजिनचंद्रमृ-
सुगुरुस्तत्पादपंकेरुहे यो भृंगायत एव लोलकवरस्तोर्थं चकारैष सः ॥८२(८३)॥³
रेवत्याः सरितस्तटे तरुवरा यचाह्वयंते भृशं ॥⁴
- 27 शाखावा(बा)हुलतीत्करेर्न[रसु]रागुंस्कोकिलानां रूतैः । मत्पुष्पोच्चयपत्रसत्फलचयैरानि-
[मं][ले*]र्वारिभिर्भो भोभ्यर्चयता⁵भिषिकयत वा श्रीपार्श्वनाथं विभुं(भुम्) ॥८३(८४)॥³
यावत्पुष्करतीर्थसैकतकुलं यावच्च गंगाजलं यावत्तारकचंद्रभास्करकरा(रा) यावच्च
दिक्कुंजराः । यावच्छ्रीजिनचंद्रशासनमिदं यावन्महिंद्रं पदं तावत्तिव्य(ष्ठ)तु द्यः⁶
प्रशस्तिमस्ति⁷सहितं जैनं स्थिरं मंदिरं(रम्) ॥८४(८५)॥³ पूर्वतो रेवतीसिंधुर्देव-
स्यापि पुरं तथा । दक्षिणस्यां मठस्थानमुदीच्यां कुंडमुत्तमं(मम्) ॥८५(८६)॥⁸
दक्षिणोत्तरतो वाटी नानावृक्षैरलंकृता । कारितं
- 28 लोलिकेनैतत् समायतनसंयुतं(तम्) ॥८६(८७)॥⁸ श्रीमन्मां(न्मा)[यु*]रतिं(सं)वेभूद्गुणभद्रेण⁹
महामुनिः[*]॥ कृता प्रस(श)स्तिरेषा श्च(च) कवि[कं]ठ[वि]भूषणा(णम्) ॥८७(८८)॥⁸
नैगमान्वयकायस्थस्त्रीतिगस्य च सूनुना । लिखिता केस(श)वेनेदं(यं) मुक्ताफलमि-
व(वो)¹⁰ज्व(ज्ज्व)ला ॥८८(८९)॥⁸ हरसिग¹¹ सूत्रधाराय¹² तत्पुत्रो पाल्हणो भुवि ।
तदंगजमाहडेनापि¹³ निर्मापत¹⁴ जिनमंदिरं(रम्) ॥८९(९०)॥⁸ नानिगः(ग)पुत्रगोविं-
दपाल्हणसुतदेल्हणी¹⁵ । उत्कीर्णा प्रस(श)स्तिरेषा च¹⁶ कीर्तिस्तंभं(भः) प्रतिष्ठितं(तः)
॥९०(९१)॥⁸ प्रसिद्धिमगमद्देवः काले विक्रमभास्वतः । षड्विं(ड्विं)स(श)द्वादशशते
फाल्गुने कृष्णपक्षके ॥९१(९२)॥⁸

¹ Metre : *Mālinī*.

² This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

³ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁵ Read =*bhō bhō archchayat=ābhishēchayata*. !

⁶ Read *tat*-. This syllable is so misshaped that its proper reading is difficult. It, however, looks like *dyah*.

⁷ The syllables *sasti* are superfluous.

⁸ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Read ⁰*d=Guṇabhadra*.

¹⁰ Better read *muktā-phala-vad*-.

¹¹ Read *Harasimha*.

¹² Read *sūtradhāras*-.

¹³ Read *tat-sulēn=Āhaḍēn=āpi*.

¹⁴ Read *nirmmitam*.

¹⁵ As in verse 88 here also the first half is in active and the second half in passive voice.

¹⁶ This letter is superfluous.

- 29 [ट]तौयायां तिथौ वारे गुरु(रौ) स्ता(ता)रे च हस्तके । धृतिनामनि योगे च करणे तैतिले तथा ॥८[२](८३)॥¹ [सं]वत् १२२६ फाल्गुन वदि ३ [१*] कांवारिवणायामयोरंतराले गुहिलपुं(पु)त्ररा०²दाधरमहं³घणसी(सिं)हाभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) चेन्नडोहली १ [१*] खदुंवरायामवास्तव्यगौडसोनिगवासुदेवाभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) डोहलिका १ [१*] आंतरीप्रतिगणके रायतायामीयमहं(ह)त्तमलीवडिपोपलिभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) चेन्नडोहलिका १ [१*] वडौवायामवास्तव्यपारिग्रही⁵ आल्हणेन दत्त(त्ता) चेन्नडोहलिका १ [१*] लघुवीभोलीयामसं⁶गुहिलपुत्ररा०⁷व्याहरूमहं(ह)त्तममाहवा-
- 30 [भ्यां द]त्त(त्ता) चेन्नडोहलिका १ [१*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुद्धा(धा) भुक्ता राजभिर्भरताद-
य(दिभिः) । यस्य यस्य [य]दा भूमौ तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥⁷ ॥८॥

No. 10.—A NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF VALLALA : A.D. 911-2.

BY THE LATE MR. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.⁸

A record⁹ dated in the 6th year of a Chōla king Parakēsarivarman at Puḷḷamaṅgai in the Tanjore District reads as follows :—

Svasti Śrī [१*] Kō-pParakēsariparma[r*]kku yāṇḍu āpāvadu Kilār-kūṟattu brahmadēyam Puḷḷamaṅgalattu Tiruvālandurai-Mahādēva[r*]kku Śembiyaṅ-Mahābali-Vānarāyar śiṟukūlai-sandikku iru-nāḷi ariśiyālum arai-ppiḍi neyy-amirdālum nisadamum tiruvamidu sēvadaṟku vilaiḱku viṟṟu-kkuḍutta nilam.....

and it registers a gift of land by Śembiyaṅ-Mahābali-Vānarāya to the temple of Tiruvālandurai-Mahādēva at Puḷḷamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Kilār-kūṟam, in the 6th year of king Parakēsarivarman. The record can palæographically be attributed to the 10th century A. D., and it must therefore belong either to Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-53) or to Uttama-Chōla (A. D. 970-986), the only two Parakēsarins who ruled for at least 6 years in this period.

Now from the Sholinghur record¹⁰ dated in the 9th year of the Chōla king, specified only by the title of Parakēsarivarman and identified with Parāntaka I, it is learnt that the Gaṅga chieftain Pṛithivīpati II was given the title of 'Bāpādhirāja', while the Udayēndiram Plates¹¹ of the 15th year of Madiraiḱoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman (Parāntaka I) state that this chieftain was

¹ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

² *Rā*⁹ probably stands for Rāuta or Rāval.

³ *Maham* stands for महत्तम, modern Mēhtā.

⁴ The letter *kshē* is misshaped.

⁵ *Pārigrahī* seems to be an official title of a revenue collector.

⁶ *Sam* probably stands for *sāṅgata* or *sambaddha* 'associated or connected with'.

⁷ There are three indistinct signs after this pair of *daṇḍas*.

⁸ [I have to record here with deep regret that Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar breathed his last without seeing this article finally printed. By his death we have lost a sound scholar of South-Indian History.—Ed.]

⁹ No. 559 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

¹⁰ *Ante*, Vol. IV, pp. 221-25. It may be noted that the king in this record is also specified by the title of Kō-pParakēsarivarman only, without the epithet of 'Madiraiḱoṇḍa'.

¹¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 78.

called 'Śembiyaṇ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya'. As the latter title occurs also in this record of the 6th year of a Parakēsarivarman, it is reasonable to assume that this king is identical with Parāntaka I¹, though the title of 'Madiraikoṇḍa' which he had assumed from the 3rd year onwards is lacking.² The record cannot be attributed to the other Parakēsarīn, Uttama-Chōḷa, for the reason that Piritipatiyār (Prithivīpati II), son of Māṇamaraiyar (Mārasiniha), who figures in an epigraph³ of the 24th year of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I), corresponding to A. D. 895, cannot possibly have been living so late as the 6th year of Uttama-Chōḷa, corresponding to A. D. 975. It may therefore be inferred that the title of 'Śembiyaṇ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya' together with the chiefship over the Bāṇa territory, had been conferred on Prithivīpati II, before the 6th year of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, corresponding to A. D. 912-13.

Parāntaka I had assumed the title of 'Madiraikoṇḍa', i.e., 'he who took Madura' from the 3rd year⁴ of his reign, and so his first southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya king of Madura must have taken place in about A. D. 909-10.⁵ As Prithivīpati had been granted the title of 'Bāṇādhirāja' before A. D. 912-13, as noted above, the northern campaign in which this Gaṅga feudatory had helped his suzerain against a Bāṇa chieftain, success in which had evidently earned for him both the Bāṇa title and the Bāṇa territory, must have occurred between A. D. 910 and 912-13, i.e., in about A. D. 911-12. As the Sholinghur record particularly mentions that Prithivīpati had won distinction in a battle called Vallāḷa and thus vindicated 'his fitness for the possession of a particle of the sun'⁶, presumably his position as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king of the Solar race, it is possible that this battle was fought in this Bāṇa campaign only, in about A. D. 911-12.

The Udayēndiram Plates state that before his 15th year Parāntaka had defeated two Bāṇa chieftains and a Vaidumba chief⁷. It is not definitely stated who they were, and whether the two Bāṇas had been worsted in a single campaign or in two separate engagements. Three inscriptions of Māvali-Bāṇarāja which are attributable to Vijayāditya-Prabhūmēru are dated in Śaka 820, 827 and 832 (A. D. 898 to 910), without mentioning the names of any overlords⁸. It is evident from this that the Bāṇa chiefs who had been feudatories of the Pallava rulers of Kāñchī had declared their semi-independence, after the extinction of that dynasty by the Chōḷa king Āditya I⁹. In the absence of other similarly dated records of Bāṇa chiefs soon after A. D. 909-10, in this region, it may be inferred that they had met with reverses at the hands of the Chōḷa conqueror Parāntaka, who allying himself with the Gaṅga chieftain Prithivīpati II on his north-western frontier had probably defeated them in the battle of Vallāḷa in A. D. 911-12.

¹ It may be noticed that a record of Parāntaka, 11th year, engraved in the same temple (No. 558 of 1921) closely resembles the present inscription in point of palaeography.

² Several inscriptions attributable to Parāntaka I simply call him a Parakēsarivarman without the distinguishing titles—e.g., No. 376 of 1917, 443 of 1907, etc. So the absence of the title is no bar against the identification of the Parakēsarivarman of No. 559 of 1921 above with Parāntaka I.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 88.

⁴ No. 157 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928, etc.

⁵ The date of accession of Parāntaka I fell between January and July, A. D. 907.

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 224, V-8. The Chōḷas belonged to the solar race, and as Prithivīpati also assumed the title of Vīra-Chōḷa, the poet seems to suggest that he 'acquired a spark of the Sun' (*ibid.*, p. 225. f. n. 5).

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 76.

⁸ *Ante*, Vol. XI, pp. 229-240 and No. 168 of 1921.

⁹ There is a record of a Bāṇarāja dated in Śaka 810, which may belong to Vijayāditya or his father Vikramāditya Bāṇavidyādhara (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 44). This date which is equivalent to A. D. 888 gives an indication as to when the Pallava power was destroyed and Āditya I overran Tondai-maṇḍalam.

The two Bāṇa opponents may have been Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru, whose dated records come up to A. D. 909-10 and who probably lost his life in this battle, and his son Vikramāditya who figures as the heir-apparent in the Guḍimallam Plates¹.

One other point of historical interest may be considered in this connection. The Kanyākumari inscription² of the 7th year of the Chōla king Virarājēndradēva (A. D. 1069) states that Parāntaka had earned the title of 'Vira-Chōla' by his victory over the unconquered Kṛishṇarāja and narrates this event after his conquest of Madura. In verse 9 of the Sholinghur record³ noted above, which contains the *captatio benevolentiae*, Parāntaka is mentioned with this title of 'Vira-Chōla' and from the Tamil verse at the end of that inscription it is evident that his Gaṅga feudatory Prithivīpati had also assumed the same title of his overlord. So if the Kanyākumari record's statement can be relied on, Parāntaka who had assumed the title of 'Vira-Chōla' before A. D. 916, must also have defeated a Kṛishṇarāja before that date.

Who was the powerful Kṛishṇarāja who lived in this period? The only king whom Parāntaka could have met in battle on his north-western frontier at this time was the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II who reigned from about A. D. 879 to 912; and the political situation in this period was such as to render plausible the Chōla and the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings ranging themselves on opposite sides⁴. We may therefore have to suppose that Kṛishṇa II⁵ had come to the help of the Bāṇas, as against the Chōla Parāntaka I and the Gaṅga Prithivīpati II, and had probably suffered defeat in the battle of Vallāla noted above. If specific references to this event are absent in records of Kṛishṇa II, it is only to be expected; for the king would not have mentioned his own reverses in his inscriptions, and further A. D. 912 fell almost in the end of his reign. It is, however, inexplicable why the other Chōla documents, such as the Anbil, Leiden and Tiruvālangāḍu copper-plate records are silent in regard to this achievement of Parāntaka I, while it is only the later Kanyākumari inscription that has made particular mention of it. This point has to be elucidated only by future discoveries.

Vallāla, the scene of the fight, may perhaps be identified with Tiruvallam in the Gudiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot District, which was an important place in the old Bāṇa territory, and which an invading army was likely to attack first. It was called Tikkāli-Vallam in the early times, and it is possible that the name of 'Valla' was transformed into 'Vallāla' by the encomiast of the Sholinghur record, to suit the metrical exigencies of the Sanskrit verse in which he has introduced this village-name.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XVII, p. 3.

² *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, v. 58.

³ *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 224. The same verse occurs also in the Udayēndiram Plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 385) with the word *Ēkavīrah* substituted for *Vira-Chōla*. Dr. Hultzsch has wrongly identified the Vira-Chōla of this verse with Prithivīpati, whereas it refers to the Chōla king Parāntaka only.

⁴ In this connection, the possibility of attributing a few records from the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District to Kṛishṇa II, requires further investigation. (*Epig. Rept.* for 1933-34, Part II, para. 8.) The *Uttara-purāṇa*'s reference to Kṛishṇa's elephants having gone as far as Kumari may, however, be only conventional praise. (Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 97, f. n. 27.)

⁵ It is possible that Āditya I had married the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and had a son called Kannaradēva by her; and when Parāntaka succeeded to the Chōla throne, Kṛishṇa II may have felt some grudge against the Chōla king, resulting in his own joining the Bāṇa side.

No. 11.—TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND GHATOTKACHAGUPTA ;
G. E. 116.

By M. B. GARDE, B.A., DIRECTOR OF ARCHEOLOGY, GWALIOR STATE.

This inscription was discovered by me in February 1919, in the course of an exploration tour, at **Tumain**, a large village in the Guna District of Gwalior State. It was mentioned in my *Annual Administration Report* for Vikrama Samvat 1975 (A. D. 1918-19) and a short note was published in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLIX (1920), pp. 114-15. It is now edited with full text, translation and facsimile.

The stone on which it is inscribed was found stuck up in a wall of a small dilapidated mosque at Tumain. It is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior. Unfortunately the left (proper right) part (probably more than one half) of the stone is broken off and missing, and consequently the first half of all the lines, lost. The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 24" broad by 7" high. The surviving part of the inscription contains only six lines of writing, but the missing part had a portion of one more line. The epigraph is written in Gupta characters of the Southern variety, the average size of letters being $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The recovered portion of the record is well preserved and the text can be read with certainty with the exception of a few letters. The language is Sanskrit, which is generally correct. It is noteworthy that the present tense is used in the sense of the historic past in two places: *vandyatē* and *jayati* in line 1. There are a few mistakes of copying or engraving, e.g., *kamalaṁ mattyaṁ* for *kamalaṁ=achechham*, *vandyētē* for *vandyatē*, and *saṅghaiḥ* for *saṅghaiḥ* in line 1, *prithivyām* for *prithivyām* and *virājāmānē* for *virājāmānē* in line 4, *Saṅhadēva* for *Saṅghadēva* in line 5, and *śringa* for *śringa* in line 6.

The sign of punctuation at the end of the quarters and halves of verses, or at the end of complete verses, is expressed either by a single horizontal stroke as in lines 1 and 4, or by two upright strokes as in lines 3, 4 and 6. But where the verses or their halves end in a final *m* or in a *visarga*, the sign of punctuation is not expressed at all. The final *m* at the end of verses, their halves or quarters is never combined with the following consonant but is expressed, as is usual at this period, by reducing the size of the letter and placing a horizontal stroke over it (e.g. lines 1, 2 and 4).

As regards orthography, it is enough to note that a consonant is often doubled after *r*, e.g. *kīrttir=bhuj-ārjjitām* in line 3; *t* is doubled before *r* in *lōka-utray-āntē* in line 1; the sign of *jihvāmūliya* occurs in *tatgh=kaniyām* in line 5.

As remarked above, this is a fragmentary inscription, having lost the first part of each line. The recovered text is wholly in verse. Line 1 gives us a portion of a verse in *Mālinī* metre and the first line of the following verse, a *Sragdharā*. Line 2 contains a complete *Upajāti*. Line 3 consists of the latter half of a *Vasantatilakā* followed by the first half of an *Upēndravajrā*. Line 4 has preserved an almost complete verse and the first quarter of another, both in *Upajāti* metre. In line 5 we have the last quarter of an *Indravajrā* or perhaps *Upajāti* verse followed by a complete *Upēndravajrā*. Parts of two verses in *Upēndravajrā* metre have survived in line 6. The existing portion of the epigraph thus comprises 11 verses, 3 of which have been completely recovered while 8, partially. From the calculation of the missing letters of the verses, and of the average space covered by each letter it would appear that the whole composition consisted of nearly sixteen verses.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of a god (whose name is lost) by five brothers residing at **Tumbavana**. The names of the brothers in the order of seniority were Haridēva, Śridēva, Dhanyadēva, Bhadradēva and Saṅghadēva. The date is

recorded in words as **one hundred and sixteenth year** of the kings (of the Gupta dynasty), which is equivalent to A.D. 435. No season, month or day is specified. In the genealogical portion, the first existing verse seems to allude to Samudragupta. The next verse eulogises his (son and) successor **Chandragupta** as one who conquered the earth extending as far as the oceans. In line 2 **Kumāragupta** is described as Chandragupta's son, who protected the whole earth as his lawful wife. Line 3 follows with the name of **Ghaṭōtkachagupta** who is compared to the moon and is praised as having attained the fame of his ancestors.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Kumāragupta** who is described as shining (*i.e.* ruling) over the earth as the sun in winter, in the year 116 of the (Gupta) kings. Thus Chandragupta and Kumāragupta of our inscription are the same as Chandragupta II and his son Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

The main **historical importance** of the inscription lies in the information it contains about **Ghaṭōtkachagupta**. That he was a member of the Imperial Gupta family is shown by the manner in which he is referred to in this inscription.¹ His mention immediately after Kumāragupta who was occupying the imperial throne at the time of the inscription is perhaps to be explained by the hypothesis that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was then holding the office of the governor of the province of Airikiṇa (Eran) which included Tumbavana (Tumain), the provenance of the inscription. Unfortunately the word expressing the exact relationship between Kumāragupta (the ruling Emperor) and Ghaṭōtkachagupta (the provincial governor) is lost in the missing portion of the inscription. Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably a son or possibly a younger brother of Kumāragupta I.

So far, the name of Ghaṭōtkachagupta was known from two documents: (1) a clay seal² found at Basāṇh bearing the inscription *Śrī Ghaṭōtkachaguptasya*, and (2) a coin³ in the St. Petersburg collection which according to Mr. Allan bears on the obverse traces of a marginal legend ending in *Guptaḥ* and beneath the king's arm *Ghaṭō* with a crescent above, and on the reverse a legend which seems to read *Kramādityaḥ*.

The late Dr. Bloch² was inclined to identify Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṇh seal with *Mahārāja* Ghaṭōtkacha, the father and predecessor of Chandragupta I and this view was accepted by the late Dr. V. A. Smith.⁴ But Mr. Allan⁵ pointed out the difficulties in the way of this identification and surmised that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably a member of the Imperial Gupta family, who held some office at the court of the *Yuvarāja* at Vaiśālī (Basāṇh) during the reign of Chandragupta II. The Ghaṭō[tkachagupta] of the coin in the St. Petersburg collection is believed by Mr. Allan to be still another Ghaṭōtkachagupta on the ground that the style and weight of the coin place it about the end of the 5th century, and he says that it therefore cannot be referred either to Ghaṭōtkacha, the father of Chandragupta I, or to Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṇh⁶ seal. Mr. Allan's view is corroborated by our inscription. There is little doubt that the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of our inscription who, in G. E. 116, was probably the governor of Airikiṇa, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, is identical with the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṇh seal.

Two **place names** occur in this inscription. These are **Vaṭōdaka** in line 4 and **Tumbavana** in line 6. Tumbavana which is mentioned in six of the votive inscriptions⁷ on

¹ See line 3 of the text.

² *A.R., A.S.I.*, for 1903-04, pp. 102 and 107.

³ Allan's *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties, etc.*, Introduction, p. liv, p. 149 and plate XXIV. 3.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 153 and *Early History of India* (1914 ed., p. 280, Note 1).

⁵ Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii and liv.

⁶ Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, p. liv.

⁷ Nos. 16, 17a, 18, 20, 21, and 346 in *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, pp. 301, 302, and 335. Also above, Vol. X, Appendix, Lüders' List, Nos. 450, 201, 202, 449, and 520.

2
 4
 6

2
 4
 6

the balustrade of the great *Stūpa* at Sāñchī and also in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 15) of Varāhamihira, is no doubt to be identified with Tumain where our inscription was discovered. Tumain is an ancient site and some of its monumental and sculptural antiquities go back to the period to which our inscription belongs. It is six miles to the south of Tukneri Station on the Bina-Kotah branch line of the G. I. P. Railway, and about fifty miles to the north-west of Eran (ancient Airikīṇa).

Vaṭōdaka¹ is very probably modern Badoh which is a small village in the Bhilsa District of Gwalior State, about 10 miles to the south of Eran, and which is an old place having in its neighbourhood monumental relics of the late Gupta and a small rock inscription² of the early Gupta period.

TEXT.

- 1 [रि]थ्यस्य लोकत्रयान्ते । चरणकमलं(ल)मर्त्यं(च्छं) वन्द्ये(न्य)ते सिद्धसङ्घैः(ङ्घैः) [॥*]
राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनुजयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्
- 2 -- श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्स[मग्राम्] [॥*] ररक्ष साध्वीमिव
धर्मपत्नीम् वीर्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् [॥*]
- 3 [—] गौरः क्षित्यम्बरे गुणसमूहमयूखजालो नान्नोदितस्स तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः
[॥*] स पूर्वजानां स्थिरसत्त्वकीर्त्तिर्भुजार्जितां कीर्त्तिमभिप्रपद्य ॥(॥)
- 4 [गुप्तान्वया*³]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म्] समाश्रिते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते । कुमारगुप्ते नृपती प्रि(ष्ट)-
थियाम् विराजा(ज)माने शरदौव सूर्य्ये ॥ वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे
- 5 तज्ज्योदेव इत्यर्जितनामधेयः [॥*] तदग्रजोभूद्धरिदेवसंज्ञस्ततोनुजो यस्तु स धन्य-
देवः [॥*] ततोवरो यस्य स भद्रदेवस्ततः कनीयानपि सङ्घ(ङ्घ)देवः[॥*]
- 6 — नसक्तचित्ताः समान[ह]त्ताकृति[भावधोराः कृता³]लया[स्तु]म्बवने ब[भू]वुः ॥ अका-
रयंस्ते गिरि[अ](श्र)ङ्गतुङ्गं शशि[प्रभं] देवनि[केतनं³—]

TRANSLATION.

L. 1. Whose lotus-like beautiful foot was adored by multitudes of Siddhas (sages) throughout the three worlds. After him king *Śrī Chandragupta* conquered the earth as far as the oceans.

L. 2. *Śrī Chandragupta's* son *Kumārāgupta* who resembled the great Indra, embraced and protected the whole earth like a virtuous wife, with his mighty hands.

L. 3. The moon bearing the name *Ghaṭōtkachagupta*, fair and having a network of rays (in the form) of a multitude of virtues rose in the sky (in the form) of the earth. He whose goodness and fame were steady, having attained the glory won by his ancestors with (the prowess of their own) arms.

L. 4. In the year one hundred and sixteen of the lords of the earth (in the Gupta dynasty) when king *Kumārāgupta* was shining (i.e. ruling) over the earth like the sun in the winter. At *Vaṭōdaka* which was the abode of good people,

¹ Compare Agodaka (Agrōdaka) on coins—Agroha; Prithūdaka=Paoha.

² This inscription is engraved on a tablet near a panel of sculptures representing the *Sapta Mātrikās*, both carved in rock on a hill. It was dated but the portion giving the year and month, has peeled off, leaving behind only *śukla-dīvasē trayōdaśyām*. It mentions *Vishayēśvara Mahārāja Javatsēna*. The record is badly damaged and is unpublished so far.

³ The portion within square brackets is conjecturally restored.

L. 5. (*there lived a person*) who bore the distinguished appellation Śrīdēva.¹ His elder brother was Haridēva by name. The brother born after him was Dhanyadēva. His younger brother was Bhadrādēva and next (younger) to him was Saṅghadēva.

L. 6. Of minds attached to, of similar manners, of noble appearance and disposition, (*they had*) their home at **Tumbavana** (*where*) they built a (*temple*) of god (.), shining like the moon and lofty like a mountain peak.

No. 12.—TWO YUPA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARNĀLA: KRITA YEARS 284 AND 335.

By DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The two *yūpa* inscriptions, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni at **Barnāla** in the Jaipur State with the assistance of Thakur Sheonath Singhji of Kānota. Barnāla is a small village, belonging to the Thakur Sahib of Barnāla, about eight miles from the Lalsote-Gangapur fair-weather road. The two stone *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars, on which these inscriptions have been inscribed, were discovered in a large tank, close to the village. Each of the *yūpas* had been broken into two pieces at a height of about 6 and 6½ feet respectively from the bottom. The Government Epigraphist for India kindly sent to me ink-impressions of these records with a request to edit them for the *Epigraphia Indica*; I am doing so accordingly.

The late Rai Bahadur Sahni has noticed these inscriptions in his report on *Archæological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar* during Samvat years 1993 and 1994 (1936-37 and 1937-38 A. D.), pp. 3 ff. Therein he gives the following description of the *yūpas*: "The girdle or *pāśa* which is well executed round the two pillars at Mathura is absent in the Barnāla pillars as well as in those from Baḍvā. The projecting *chashāla* is square in one of the Barnāla *yūpas* and octagonal in the other. Like the Mathura pillars those under notice are square at the base but only up to a height of 3' 6" and 4' 5" respectively. The wreath is not represented. *Yūpa* No. 1 at Barnāla (Pl. XVII, a), which is 21' 2½" in height including the lower square portion is, as far as I am aware, the highest *yūpa* so far known to us." As to their present whereabouts, he says: "Both these *yūpa* pillars have been removed from Barnāla to the Hawa Mahal in the city of Jaipur, where portable antiquities unearthed during the excavations of last three seasons have been displayed for the benefit of the public."

In my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on *Yūpas*, Kṛita Year 295', I have discussed in detail the general problems connected with the nature and significance of the *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars. I would refer the reader to that paper² for information on this point.

As on the *yūpas* at Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh, the inscriptions on both these *yūpas* have been engraved in long vertical lines to be read from top to bottom. The engraver has not followed the more convenient method of inscribing the record in short horizontal lines engraved one below the other, which is followed on the *yūpa* in the Allahabad Municipal Museum.³ The inscription on the pillar A is of one line only, while that on the pillar B is in two lines, inscribed on two adjacent facets of the octagonal shaft. The first line is 8' 5" and the second 9' long⁴. Both the inscriptions have been sadly mutilated; it is an irony of fate that the

¹ Śrīdēva seems to have been the most important or influential among the brothers, as his name is given precedence over that of his elder brother.

² *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

³ *Ibid*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 245 ff.

⁴ In the Report, above referred to, it has been stated that the first line is 9' and the second 8' 5". A glance at the plate will show that the first line is shorter than the second and not vice versa.

mutations should have led to the disappearance of only the names of the sacrificers, who had taken so much trouble to enlighten the posterity about the sacrifices which they had performed.

As will be presently shown, the inscriptions belong to the 3rd century A. D. and their **characters** bear a general resemblance to those of other contemporary records from northern India, especially with those on the *yūpas* of Baḍvā and the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The characters on the *yūpa* A have been very neatly and carefully engraved, but those on the *yūpa* B have been inscribed in such a slipshod and careless manner that the task of deciphering them becomes very difficult. Subscripts of conjuncts and medial vowel signs are very often omitted or very badly executed; and in some cases it would appear that words have been wrongly spelt. We shall have to speak more about this point, when we discuss this inscription.

The **language** of the inscription A may be described as Sanskrit, with occasional influence of Prakrit, as when *sa-gōtṛasya*¹ and *puṇṇa*² have been written for *sa-gōtṛasya* and *puṇya* respectively. The inscription B may be described as being written in incorrect Prakrit, with occasional mixture of Sanskrit expressions like *suddhasya* in 1.1 and *dharmō varddhā[tām]* in 1.2.

The **orthography** of the records calls for no particular remarks.

Symbols for **numerals** for 200, 80 and 4 appear in the inscription A and for the numerals 300, 90, 30, and 5 appear in the inscription B. They are similar to those found in contemporary records in northern and western India. In the record B, the two small strokes that were necessary to be attached to the symbol for 100 in order to convert it into 300 have been joined together so as to form an angle with each other; usually the additional strokes are written horizontally one below the other.

INSCRIPTION ON THE YŪPA A.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *siddham* and then proceeds to state its time. **Its date is the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra of the Kṛita year 284.** As is well known, the Kṛita era³ is the same as the Vikrama era, and so the date of the record would be 228 A. D. The earliest inscription in the Vikrama era so far discovered is that on the Nāndsā *yūpa*, which is dated in the Kṛita year 282. Our inscription would then be the second earliest record of this era. It is 11 years earlier than the Baḍvā *yūpa* records, which are dated in the Kṛita year 295.

After stating its precise date, the record proceeds to inform us that on the date mentioned, seven *yūpas* were erected by a person whose *gōtra* was Sōhartṛi and whose name ended in **-varddhana**. The *gōtra* is spelt as Sōhartṛa, but it is obviously the same as Sōhartṛi, which occurs among the *gōtras* of the *Bhāradvājakāṇḍa*, having the option of three or five *pravaras*.⁴ It is very sad that the mutilation of the record should have occurred just on that part where the name and the parentage of the sacrificer were mentioned. His name ended in *varddhana*, as observed already. The two letters immediately preceding *varddhana* cannot be made out; but the two next preceding letters appear to have been *rājñō*, to judge from the traces they have left behind. It would therefore appear that **the sacrificer was a king bearing a name of five letters, the last three of which were varddhana**. We can also see the

¹ [See below p. 120, n. 8.—Ed.]

² [See below p. 120, n. 11.—Ed.]

³ See *ante* Vol. XXIII, pp. 48-52 for a discussion on the Kṛita era.

⁴ वेङ्कटनिः सोहर्ता कारौ . . इत्येते गर्गाक्षौ पञ्चर्षेयस्यार्षेयो वा प्रवरी भवति । *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* (Second edition), p. 56. [See below p. 120, n. 8.—Ed.]

traces of the letters *rājñō* after the word *sa-gōttasya*. Then follows space for two, or possibly three letters, which is now practically blank; but thereafter we can discern faint traces of the letters *pa* and *ta*. It would therefore appear that after giving the *gōtra* of the sacrificing king, the record had proceeded to give his parentage. His father was also a king and had a name of two or three letters. The restoration here suggested leaves no space for the letter *syā* coming after *putra*; probably that letter had been dropped. It is also possible that it may have been destroyed when the pillar was broken into two.

The concluding portion of the record reads, *yūpa-sattakō(am) puṇṇava*¹. I do not know the extent of the damage to the *yūpa* subsequent to this portion; it however appears very probable that the record ended with the words *puṇṇava[rđhakō(am) bhavatu]*, expressing the hope that the sacrificial performance may increase the merit of the performer. The reference to the group of seven *yūpas* may show that the king had performed seven sacrifices; they were very probably the seven *Sōma* sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. The sacrifices included in this group were *Agnishōma*, *Atyagnishōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Vājapēya*, *Atirātra* and *Āptōryāma*.² The Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpa* commemorates the performance of these very sacrifices.

The inscription clearly refers to a group of seven *yūpas*. The *yūpa* of the record B does not belong to this group, as it commemorates a sacrifice performed 51 years later. It is therefore not unlikely that a diligent search in the locality may lead to the discovery of more sacrificial pillars.³

TEXT.⁴

Siddham⁵ |⁶ Kṛitēhi 200 80 4 Chaitra-śukla pakshasya paṁ(ñ)ehadaśi [*] Sōhartta⁷-
sagōttasya⁸ [rājñō⁹]...p[u]tt[ra⁹]syā [rājñō⁹]..varddhanasya yūpa-sattakō¹⁰ puṇṇa¹¹-va[rddha-
kani bhavatu *]

TRANSLATION.

Be it auspicious! The full-moon day of (the month of) Chaitra of the year 284 by the Kṛita (reckoning). May this group of seven sacrificial pillars of king varddhana, son of king ..., of Sōhartṛi *gōtra*, [increase] the merit (of the sacrificer)!

¹ [See below n. 10.—Ed.]

² *Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, X, 9, 27. ³ [But see below n. 10.—Ed.]

⁴ Edited from an ink-impression.

⁵ The stop *m* is indicated by a small letter *ma* written below the line.

⁶ The full-stop is indicated by the rather unusual device of two dots, written like a *visarga*.

⁷ Read *Sōhartṛi*. The medial *mātrā* for *ō* looks to some extent like the medial *ī mātrā*; but since the *Gōtra-pravarānibandhakadamba* gives Sōhartṛi as the name of the *gōtra*, we must read the first letter as a rather irregular *sō*.

⁸ [The reading appears to be correctly *Sōhartṛi-sagōttasya*. The curl representing the medial *ṛi* in the syllable *rtṛi* is partly discernible, and so is also the sign for the subscript *r* in the letter *ttra*. Besides, otherwise the lengthening of the right-hand stroke of the second *t* in the syllables concerned is unaccountable.—B. C. C.]

⁹ There are faint traces of these letters.

¹⁰ Read *saptakam*. [The reading appears to be *yūpō sa[ttra]kō*, the sign of the medial *ō* in *pō* resembling that in *sō* or *Sōhartṛi*. The wrong *visarga sandhi* betrays the Prakrit influence. The reading of the second syllable is doubtful, inasmuch as it cannot be ascertained whether it is *ttra* or correctly *ttri* though it seems to be the former. In any case, the subscript *r* is pretty clear. We may correct the reading as *yūpaḥ sattrikah*, meaning 'the pillar connected with a sacrifice'. The particular sacrifice is, however, not specified. According to this reading, thus, there is no mention of seven *yūpas*.—B. C. C.]

¹¹ Read *puṇya*. [I see traces of a subscript *ya* below the second *n*; thus the reading is *puṇnya*, and according to my interpretation, we may restore this portion as *puṇnyam varddhatām* or *puṇnyam varddhatu* as is commonly found in similar inscriptions.—B. C. C.]

A

Left Half

Right Half

B

Left Half

Right Half

Inscription on the Yūpa B.

This inscription does not begin with the auspicious word *siddham*, as does the inscription on the yūpa A ; it straightway proceeds to give its date according to the Kṛita, i. e., Vikrama era. Its date is the fifteenth day, i. e., the full-moon day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha of the Kṛita year 335. The name of the month is spelt as *Jasha* ; there can be, however, no doubt that the word is intended to stand for Jyēṣṭha. *Jasha* for *Jyēṣṭha* is but the first example of the carelessness of the engraver of this record. The date of the record is therefore 279 A. D.

It would be convenient to discuss the decipherment of the remaining portion of the record from its end ; I therefore proceed to do so. The last four letters of the second line are very clear ; they read *dharmṃ vaddha*. It is clear that the last word is intended to be *varddhatām* ; the record ends with the hope that religion may prosper. The word preceding *dharmṃ* is clearly *prīyatām* ; the subscript *r* of *prī* is faintly visible and its medial *i* mātrā is slightly damaged. The next preceding word clearly reads *Vashṭa* and there is a dot after the last letter, which is clearly a remnant of a *visarga*. I think we have to correct this word into *Vishnuḥ*. The subscript *ṭa* can also be taken as an ill-executed *ṇa* ; the medial *i* mātrā was left out in the word *Jyēṣṭha* in l. 1, and a similar mistake seems to have been repeated here. The concluding expression *Vishnuḥ prīyatām dharmṃ vaddhatām* would remind us of the expressions *Prīyanti* [ā]m=*Agnayah* and *punaḥ punaḥ prītiṃ=iyān=Mahēśvara iti*, which occur at the end of the inscriptions on the Isāpur and Allahabad Municipal Museum yūpas respectively. The royal sacrificer of the Allahabad Museum yūpa was a Śaiva advocate of the Vedic sacrificial religion ; in the present case the sacrificer was a Vaiṣṇava champion of the Vedic rites.

Immediately preceding the emended word *Vishnu* there is a triangular symbol, which is almost identical with the symbol occurring at the end of the inscription on the yūpa of Balavardhana, found at Baḍvā¹. This form is therefore not a letter but a mere symbol, marking the end of the main announcement of the record.

Immediately before this concluding symbol, there is another, which clearly stands for 90. Out of the five letters preceding 90, the first is clearly *da*, the second looks like a damaged *kshi*, the third is a *ṇ* with a subscript, the fourth is a *da* or *dā* and the fifth is a *ta*. When we recollect how the Baḍvā yūpa inscriptions end with the expression *Trirātra-sammīlasya dakṣiṇyam(ṇā) gavām sahasram*, it will be at once clear that these five letters are intended to stand for *dakṣiṇyam(ṇā) dāta(dattā)*. The reading of the third letter only is rather doubtful here ; the subscript looks like that of a *r* ; but the main letter is a *ṇ* or *n*, and so the context as well as the use in the Baḍvā records would show that it was intended to be *ṇya* for an original *ṇā*.

These five letters therefore refer to the *dakṣiṇā* given to the priests on the occasion of the sacrifice and the symbol for 90 describes its amount. What then were the ninety objects that were given at the end of the sacrifice ?

The name and the description of the 90 things donated to the Brāhmaṇas is given in the preceding seven letters ; for the four letters preceding this group of seven clearly read *yajña ishṭa* to be corrected into *yajñā ishṭāḥ*. The first of these seven letters is a *sā* or *sa* ; the second one is *vva* or *vri* ; the third is a conjunct of which the second letter is *ta* and the first very probably *s* ; the fourth is clearly an initial *i* ; the fifth is certainly a *va* ; the sixth is a *vā* ; and the seventh a *ga*. But *savvasta iva vāgā* as the description of the ninety articles given in *dakṣiṇā* gives no

¹ See ante, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing p. 52.

meaning whatsoever. We shall have to emend the text rather drastically, remembering all the while that the engraver was a person who was capable of writing *Jasha* for *Jyēshtha* and *Vashṭa* for *Vishṇu*.

I would suggest, not without very great diffidence, that *savasta iva vāgā* should be emended into *savatsā iva gāvō*. The *dakṣiṇā* given at the sacrifices commemorated on the Baḍvā *yūpas* consisted of kine. The same was probably the case here. *Vāgā* should therefore be changed into *gāvō*; an engraver who writes *Vashṭa* for *Vishṇu* is certainly capable of writing *vāgā* for *gāvō*. *Savasta* does not give any sense, and since it is an adjective of *gāvō*, it is but reasonable to emend it into *savatsā*. The context now shows that *iva* should be changed into *ēva*. The record therefore states that a *dakṣiṇā* of 90 cows, not alone but each accompanied with its calf, was given on the occasion.

And what was the occasion? It is mentioned in the opening portion of the second line. Here again the first two letters have been peeled off. The third letter had a subscript *r*, the fourth is *ra* and the fifth *tra*; then comes the numeral 5, which is followed by the words *yājña ishṭa*, as observed already. It is very clear that the 3rd, 4th and 5th letters were intended to be *trirātra*; this part of the record then states that five Trirātra sacrifices were performed when the honorarium of 90 cows along with their calves was given.

As in the case of the inscription on the *yūpa* A, the name of the sacrificer must have followed immediately after the word *pañchadaśi* in the 1st line. The two letters after this word read *bhritta*, which have obviously to be corrected into *bhaṭṭa*. After this a considerable portion of the inscription has been peeled off and about six or seven letters have been obliterated completely. They contained the name of the sacrificer. His title *bhaṭṭa* would suggest that he was a Brāhmaṇa and not a king or a general.

The last five letters of the first line are very clear; they are to be read as *tri ta va ṇa śu*. *Tritavaṇaśu* however gives no sense. With great hesitation I would emend this word into *Tritavanēshu*; the five Trirātra sacrifices seem to have been performed by the Brāhmaṇa sacrificer not in a village or in a town but in a holy forest known as Trita forest.

One more lacunæ, that of the two letters at the beginning of the second line, remains to be considered. The following word here is *trirātra*, and the obliterated word was probably an adjective of that sacrifice. The full and real name of the Trirātra sacrifice, which was an amalgam of Agniṣṭōma, Ukthya and Atirātra, was Garga-trirātra¹; it is possible that the two obliterated letters were *gargga* and what remain of them gives some support to this conjecture.

Our record therefore commemorates the performance of five Trirātra or perhaps Garga-trirātra sacrifices by a Brāhmaṇa sacrificer on the full moon day of Jyēshtha of the Kṛita year 335, corresponding to 279 A. D. The *dakṣiṇā* prescribed for a Trirātra sacrifice was one thousand cows. But our sacrificer was probably not rich enough to give it, and so he contented himself by giving only eighteen cows per sacrifice, but each accompanied by a calf. He was a Vaishṇavite also, so he ends the inscription with the hope that Vishṇu would be pleased and religion promoted by his action.

I now give below the reading of the record along with the suggested emendations.

TEXT.¹

1 Kṛit̥hi 300 30 5 Jasha²(Jyēshṭha)suddhasya³ pañ(ñ)chadaśi[*] Bhṛitta(Bhaṭṭa).....
Tritavaṇaśu(Tritavanēshu ?)

2 [Garga ?][t]r[i]ra(rā)tra 5 yajña(jñā) ishṭa(shṭā)⁴ savvasta(savatsā) i(ē)va vāgī(gāivō)
dakshinya⁵(nā) dātā(dattā) 90.⁶ Vashṭah(Vishṇuḥ) priyatām dharminō vardhdha[tām*].

TRANSLATION.

The 15th day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) of Jyēshṭha of the year 335 by the Kṛita (*reckoning*). Five (*Garga*) Trirātra sacrifices were performed by Bhaṭṭa.....in Trita forests (?). 90 cows, which were accompanied by (*their*) calves, were given as *dakshinā*.

May (*god*) Vishṇu be pleased ! May Dharma increase !

No. 13.—GURZALA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS.

The inscription edited below is found engraved on a grey marble slab set up behind the Travellers' Bungalow,⁷ about two furlongs to the north of it, at **Gurzāla** in the Palnād taluk of the Guñtūr District. There are on the spot several similar slabs which are uninscribed and which must be the relics of some ancient structure that has now disappeared. An impression of the inscription was placed in my hands some time ago by Dr. M. Rama Rao, but I found subsequently from Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, that he had secured a much better impression of the record, and it is from this impression which he has kindly placed at my disposal that I edit the record which is listed as No. 335 of the Epigraphical Collection of Madras in the *An. Rep. on S. I. Epi.* for the year 1936-37, and discussed in paragraph 10 of Part II.

The slab containing the inscription measures 5'×19"⁸; in its centre is carved a pillar with apparently a bulbous base and a double bulbous capital; the shaft of the pillar shows a slight tapering, being 3" wide at the bottom, and less than 2½" at the top, its height being about 2'. The capital comprises two oviform members, each 3" high, the upper one being broader (5½") than the lower (4½") at its horizontal axis. This capital is surmounted by an abacus 3" high above which stand three cones alongside of one another, looking like the battlement of a fortress. Our inscription comprises three lines, two incised to the proper right, and the third to the left of the carved pillar, all lines running from the capital of the pillar to its base.

¹ Edited from an ink-impression.

² Both below *ja* and *sha*, there appear to be some depressions, which appear like traces of subscript letters, now peeled off. They may however be also due to the stone not being well dressed.

³ Faint traces of the subscript *ya* can be traced in the impression.

⁴ The subscript *ta* is partly broken.

⁵ The letter looks like *tri*, but it is read as *ṇya* on the analogy of the Baḍvā records. See introduction.

⁶ After the numeral 90, there is a symbol here, similar to that occurring on the Baḍvā *yūpa* inscription A.

⁷ It is understood that the slab has since been removed to the Taluk office compound, Gurzāla.

⁸ This measurement is furnished by Dr. Rama Rao.

The script of the inscription is Brāhmī very similar to that of the well-known inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa edited in *Epigraphia Indica* some years ago by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, and may be taken to belong to the third century A. D. The average height of the letters, if we neglect the flourishes, is about one inch. The fourth letter in l. 3 which I read as *lu* may be compared with the same letter in a somewhat later Western Chālukya inscription, viz., the Bādāmi stone inscription of Maṅgalīśa.¹

The three vertical strokes at the end of the last line seem to be an ornamental stop as in G-3 (above, Vol. XXI, plate opp. p. 62) and not a symbol for three which usually comprises similar horizontal strokes. The language of the record is Prākṛit. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a field by a certain **Noduka-siri** to the **Bhagavān, the Lord of Halampūra**, for securing longevity for the donor. The date of the record is given as the tenth day of the 8th fortnight of summer in the fourth regnal year of *Mahārāja Siri-Ruḷupurisa-dāta*, whose name shows that he is a hitherto unknown king of the **Ikshvāku** line, members of which have left many inscriptions in the neighbourhood from which our record comes. The method of dating adopted is common in Ikshvāku records.² The location of **Halampūra** where the temple of the Bhagavān was located is somewhat difficult to determine. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1936-37, it is suggested that Halampūra 'may be identified preferably with Allūru in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna district which is not far removed from Gurzāla, though there are two villages of the name Alampuram, one in the Nizam's Dominions and the other in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari district'. Ālampūr in the Nizam's Dominions seems best to satisfy the requirements of the case by its name and the known antiquity of its monuments. It is situated at the apex of the Raichur Doab on the western bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, a little distance before its junction with the Kṛishnā. In spite of its distance from the Palnāḍ region, this place must have been easily accessible by river, and it teems with antiquities, temples and other structures, some account of which will be found at pages 7-13 of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions* for 1926-27.

Another place much nearer Gurzāla and about 20 miles east of it, though not so rich in antiquarian remains, that comes in for consideration here, is Nāgulavaram in the Palnāḍ taluk itself. The name has the same meaning as Halampūra (plough-city), and Sewell noted an old Viṣṇu temple and another temple of Śiva in the place and an illegible inscription in the latter. The place has yielded two inscriptions listed in the Madras Collection. It is possible that the Halampūra-sāmin of our inscription is identical with the deity in one of these shrines.³

There is nothing in our inscription to indicate that the Bhagavān Halampūra-sāmin to whom the field was given was the Lord Buddha; and it must be noted that our record differs in some respects from the generality of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions in that it does not begin with the usual *Siddham namo Bhagavato* but simply *sidham*, and in that the purpose of the gift precedes the name of the donor. It seems possible that the endowment was not that of a Buddhist. But seeing that some at least of the temples of Ālampūr show traces of having originally been Buddhist structures, perhaps converted later into Hindu temples, the other possibility cannot also altogether be ruled out at present, that is, if the identification of Halampūra with Ālampūr is accepted.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, pl. opposite p. 59, l. 4.

² See also *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 37.

³ Sewell, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, p. 61; Nos. 216 of 1927 and 306 of 1931 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; Survey map 56P/MW. (1"=2 miles).

GURZALA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION.



TEXT.

- 1 Sidhañ | Bhagavate Halampūra-sāmine apaṇo ayuvadhiniṇaṇ¹
 2 Noduka-siri khetan̄ saṃpada[ttān̄]² Mahārajasa
 3 Siri-Ruḷupurisadātasa sa ta 4 gi 8 diva 10 |||

TRANSLATION.

Success ! To the Bhagavān, Lord of Halampūra, a field was given (*by*) Noduka-siri for the increase of his own life on the tenth day in the eighth fortnight of summer in the fourth (*regnal*) year of *Mahārāja* Siri-Ruḷupurisadāta.

No. 14.—DATE OF ASHRAFPUR PLATE.

By D. C. GANGULY, M.A., PH. D. (LONDON).

A copper-plate inscription was discovered in 1884-1885 at the village Ashrafpur, in the Narayanganj Sub-Division, Dacca District, Bengal. Mr. Ganga Mohan Laskar published this inscription with a facsimile in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, No. VI.

The inscription is dated *Samvat* १३ *Pausha* di ६ ३१ :|| Mr. Laskar reads the date as

Samvat 10 3 (=13) *Pausha* 20 5 (=25). Dr. R. C. Majumdar³ agrees with Mr. Laskar in thinking that there are two symbols expressing the year-number, and two symbols expressing the day of the month. But according to him the first symbol of the year-number is 7, and the second one represents 3 or 9. He thus reads the year-number as 73 or 79, which he refers to the Harsha Era. The day of the month according to him is 20 8 (=28). If Dr. Majumdar's reading is accepted it will follow that in the same inscription both the figure-numerals and letter-numerals have been used side by side. Dr. Basak⁴ states that "the first symbol in the reading of the year-number is really a puzzling one".

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar⁵ discusses this inscription under No. 1394 in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. He accepts with a query mark Dr. Majumdar's reading of the year-number as 73, and refers it to the Harsha Era.⁶ In the foot-note he, however, remarks that "it has

¹ [Reading seems to be *ayuvadhanike*. — N. L. R.]

² Cancel the length of the final vowel and read : *saṃpadattam*.

³ *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 375 ff.

⁴ *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 203.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 190-191.

⁶ Dr. Bhandarkar does not correctly represent Dr. Majumdar's view when he says that Dr. Majumdar reads the year-number of the inscription as 70 3 or 70 9. It has already been pointed out that Dr. Majumdar takes the first symbol as 7, and the second one as 3 or 9, which according to him makes 73 or 79.

perhaps to be read as 60 3". According to him the day of the month is to be read as 20 5, and not as 20 8, as has been suggested by Dr. Majumdar.

On close examination I find that the year-number is expressed by only one symbol in the inscription. This is clearly a symbol for 7.

A comparison of this symbol with the symbol for 7, mentioned in the Damodarpur copper-plate No. 1,¹ and in the Mallasūrl copper-plate² of Gōpachandra, will convince one of the correctness of my reading.

Thus the date of the Ashrafpur copper-plate should be read neither as 73 nor as 63 but as 7, which is obviously the regnal year of the king Dēvakhadga, during whose reign the inscription was issued.

No. 15.—PARASURAMESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS.

By A. GHOSH, M. A., PATNA.

Of the five inscriptions edited here, the principal one is found on the top of the southern doorway of the *maṇḍapa* attached to the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at **Bhuvaneswar**, District Puri. It has been noticed in some official publications,³ but so far as I am aware, the text has never been published before.

The **inscription** occupies an area of 22"×6" and runs to three lines. The **letters** are rather carelessly engraved, many of them being ill-formed; their size ranges from 1¼" to ¾". The **language** is Sanskrit, but there are some **grammatical** mistakes; thus, in the first sentence the nominative has been given a passive form, while the verb is in the active voice. Some grammatical error also makes the last three letters of the second line unintelligible. Rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *naivedya-ādhakam* in line 2. A serious **orthographical** mistake occurs at the beginning of the third line, where *apy=ādhika* appears as *apyi=ādhika*. In the same line *kaśchin=na* is spelt as *kaśchim na*.

The **script** belongs to about the **first half of the ninth century A. D.**, being somewhat later than the local inscriptions of the Bhaumas⁴; note particularly the somewhat archaic form of the palatal sibilant in the latter set. The temple of Paraśurāmēśvara has, on architectural and other considerations, been regarded as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the temples of Bhuvaneswar.⁵ The present inscription, along with those noticed below, sets the lower limit of the date of the construction of the temple.

The **object** of the inscription is to record some daily offering in favour of **Pārāsēśvara-bhaṭṭaka**, by which word is probably meant the god installed in the temple, as well as of those

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 130.

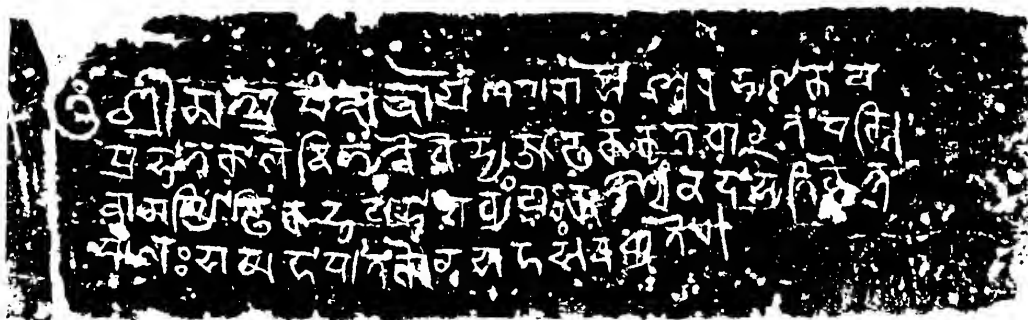
² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 155.

³ *List of Ancient Monuments in the Orissa Division*, Government of Bengal, 1896, p. 64; *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 242, where its contents have been wrongly noticed.

⁴ Compare, for example, the Dhauli cave inscription of Śāntikara, above, Vol. XIX, p. 263.

⁵ The date of its construction ranges, according to different scholars, from the fifth or sixth century to the eighth century (M. M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 273; *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 241).

PARASURAMESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS.



who were to cook (?) the offering to the god. It should be noted in this connexion that the name of the god (and consequently of the temple) is given here as *Pārāsēśvara*; if we are justified in amending the word, we may regard *Parēśēśvara* or perhaps *Parāśarēśvara* as the old name of the temple; surely the correction to *Paraśurāmēśvara*, its present name, would be too daring.

On the eastern wall of the temple there are a few more short inscriptions in nail-headed characters of about the eighth century A. D. Four of them, reproduced here, read : (1) *Kāṭhadaridrasya* (Sanskrit *Kāṣṭhadaridrasya* ?); (2) *Pravēdakūṇam*, followed by a symbol, probably a punctuation mark; (3)—*prāṇa*; and (4) *śri-Prasūtarapr[ā]ṇa*.¹

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm śrīmat-Prapitrāchāryēṇa² Pārāsēśvara-bhaṭṭakāya
 2 prabhāta-kālē nityam naivēdya-ādḥakam kṛitavān [*] tam pakvi-³
 3 nām=apyi(py)=ādḥika-dvayaṁ dātavyam [*] yaḥ [kaś]ch[i]m(n=) na dāsyati kshē(?)ttra-
 4 pālah sa mahā-pātakēna saha samvadyatē cha⁴

TRANSLATION.

Ōm. (*Arrangement*) has been done by the illustrious **Prapitrāchārya** for the offering of an *ādḥaka*⁵ (*of grain*) for the Lord **Pārāsēśvara** every morning. Also to the cooks (?) of that (*grain*) two *ādḥikas* are to be given. The keeper of the field (?) who will not give (*them*) (*will be invested*) with great sin and will be bound (or killed).⁶

No. 16.—AN INSCRIPTION OF JAITUGI, SAKA 1188.

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL. B., PH. D. (LOND.), POONA, AND
 S. C. UPADHYAYA, M. A., LL. B., BOMBAY.

This inscription, which is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is now published with the courtesy of (now) the ex-Curator, Mr. G. V. Acharya, and the Trustees. It is not known whence it came, but, as will be shown below, it must be from the vicinity of Bombay.

The record is inscribed on a rectangular stone, 3'5"×1'1½". The inscribed portion, which contains 20 lines, covers a space of 1'8½"×1'1". It is not in a good state of preservation. Several letters are broken and the last five lines cannot be completely deciphered. The average size of letters is ¾". Below the inscribed portion is cut out a rectangle, 11"×10", which contains an ass-sculpture, usual in inscriptions of this period from Kōṇkan.⁷ Right on the top, the stone is deeply cut into a rectangle, 6"×13½"×1½", which contains a representation of the Sun on the right and the Moon on the left and a double *Kalaśa* in between.

¹ Nos. (3) and (4) are probably identical. The letters of the last one are ornamentally treated.

² The correction to *Pavitrāchārya* or *Pramitrāchārya* may be suggested.

³ I am not sure of the correct reading of this ill-formed letter and conjecturally read it as *kvi*, regarding the word *pakvin* to be an incorrect derivative of the root *pach*. *Tam* probably stands for *tat*. [The intended reading may be *tapasvinām*.—Ed.]

⁴ [What has been read as *cha* appears to me to be only a part of the mark of punctuation.—B. C. C.]

⁵ *Āḥaka* is a measure of grain; the word *ādḥika* occurring in the next line is obviously a smaller measure.

⁶ [The word *samvadyatē* is evidently meant for *sambadhyatē*, an equivalent of *sahyujyatē*. According to my reading, the meaning would simply be 'is united with great sin'.—B. C. C.]

⁷ Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 270.

The inscription is in prose and the language Sanskrit and perhaps old Marāṭhī in the latter part (ll. 15-20). As regards the script and orthography there is nothing new to note.¹ It is dated in Śaka 1188 Kshaya Saṃvatsara, Māgha Vadi 15, Wednesday. This would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 26th January A. D. 1266,² provided the reading of the date is correct.³

The main object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of land (unfortunately the details of this cannot be deciphered) to a Brāhmaṇa Vaidēva, a Jyōtiṣhī (i.e., an astronomer or astrologer) in the reign of Jaitugi, who is called Mahārājādhirāja, Rāyapitāmaha, Kōṇkaṇachakravartin. The ministers of the king were the Mahāmātya Śrī-Udaiprabhu, Mahāsāmdhivigrahī Māināyaka, Śrīkaraṇī Chanda(?)prabhu,⁴ and others (whose names cannot be clearly read).

In the absence of the dynastic title it is difficult to identify the king. The tenor of the inscription—*birudas* of the king, names of ministers—would incline one to place the king either among the princes of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kōṇkaṇ or of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri. The grounds for referring the king to the former dynasty are that:—

- (1) The king bears the title *Kōṇkaṇachakravartin* which was usually borne by the Śilāhāra kings.⁵
- (2) The names of the ministers—*Mahāsāmdhivigrahī* Māināyaka and *Śrīkaraṇī* Chanda-prabhu are found among the ministers of the last known Śilāhāra ruler Sōmēśvara-dēva;⁶ hence probably the ministers referred to in the inscriptions of Sōmēśvaradēva and our inscription are identical.

However, there are certain objections against associating Jaitugi of the inscription with the Śilāhāra dynasty. They are:—

- (1) Among the Śilāhāras no king of this name is known so far, either from inscriptions or otherwise.
- (2) Till now it is supposed, on the authority of Hēmādri⁷ (whose account was supported by the absence of epigraphic or other evidence), that Sōmēśvaradēva is the last Śilāhāra ruler of Northern Kōṇkaṇ, for the dynasty was swept out of existence when he was defeated and killed and Kōṇkaṇ annexed by Mahādēva, the Yādava ruler of Dēvagiri.

If, in spite of these objections, Jaitugi is to be considered a Śilāhāra king, then we have to suppose that he was either a son or a descendant of Sōmēśvaradēva, who regained Kōṇkaṇ for a brief period,⁸ during the closing years of Mahādēva's regime (which may have been a disturbing period for the Yādava empire, for immediately after Mahādēva, before the rightful heir Rāmachandra could succeed him, Āmaṇa occupied the throne for a year or so).⁹

¹ For the features already noted cf. the writers' comments above, Vol. XXIII, p. 270.

² S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 16.

³ *Kshaya* seems to be the most likely name of the *saṃvatsara*, as the first letter looks like *ksha*, the second is illegible, the rest are undoubtedly *saṃva*, though they cannot be clearly read. For the reading of the date and some other suggestions I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao. (H. D. S.)

⁴ [See n. 7 p. 129.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 279-280.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Rājaprasasti*, I, *verse*, 49; II, *verses*, 17-18 in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 273 and p. 275 respectively.

⁸ For soon after this we have Yādava records mentioning Krishṇadēva and Jaidēva as governors of Kōṇkaṇ. See *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178 and above, Vol. XXIII, p. 282.

⁹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 247 citing *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 317.

However, if the above be accepted, then we will have an hitherto unknown Śilāhāra king continuing the dynasty after Sōmēśvaradēva and in a sense contradicting the account of Hēmādri cited above.

The argument in favour of identifying Jaitugi with one of the kings of the same name of the Yādava dynasty would be, besides the tenor of the inscription, that the name exactly tallies with that of the Yādava ruler.

But no king of this name lived in the period to which the inscription refers itself.¹ Secondly no Yādava ruler is known to have used the title *Kōṅkaṇachakravartī*, though to judge from the victories of Jaitugi I, Simhaṇa and Rāmachandradēva, Kōṅkaṇ must have formed a part of the Yādava empire.²

Whatever be the dynasty to which Jaitugi of the inscription belonged, the inscription is written after the style of the inscriptions of this period, and must have been issued from a place somewhere in Kōṅkaṇ. The fact, moreover, that it was issued to record a gift to an astrologer affords further evidence of the patronage of such people in Kōṅkaṇ at that time.³

Text.

- 1 ॥ श्री स्वस्ति स(श)कु(क)संवत् ११८८ चय'संव-
- 2 च्छरे माघवदि १५^५ बुधे अद्ये — — — स[म]-
- 3 स्तराजावलीसमलंकृत महाराजाधिरा-
- 4 ज रायपितामह^६ कौकणचक्रवर्ति श्री-
- 5 जैतुगिदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये
- 6 महामात्य श्रीउदैप्रभु^७ महासां[धि*]विग्रही
- 7 माइनायक^८ श्रीकरणी चन्द्र'प्रभु जस-
- 8 जिनायक^९ नागसु[र] आस्थान अधिष्ठा[न*]
- 9 — ^{१०}महावादि प्रतिपाठो । — — — — —¹⁰

¹ Unless the reading of the date is doubted. For if the date is read as Śaka 1129, Māgha Vadi 9 (as done previously by us and which corresponds regularly to 24th January A. D. 1207) then the inscription would fall in the reign of Jaitugi I, who is known from his three inscriptions (see *Bomb. Gaz., op. cit.*, pp. 370-373 and references cited there) to have made extensive conquests. Simhaṇa's son Jaitugi II is out of question for he is believed to have predeceased Simhaṇa.

² The other king of this name is found among the Paramāras of Mālwā, but his dates are V. S. 1292 and 1300 (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. XXIII, Appendix, p. 397 and f. n. 14) thus falling outside the two probable readings of the date of the record.

³ Pātnā Inscription of Simhaṇa, above Vol. I, p. 343, verse 18.

⁴ This letter is defaced, cf. note 3, p. 128 above.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ This title is very common. For references see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 150 and 230.

⁷ Reading doubtful. [The reading appears to be *Dādū*.—N. L. R.]

⁸ Illegible.

⁹ May be *pa*.

¹⁰ Letters illegible.

- 10 — — ये¹ — — राज्ये श्रीज्ञेपर² ग्रामांतर — —
 11 नदि³ जेजे³ — — — —
 12 पक -- ।⁴ नम —⁴ आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिपर्वत
 13 वइदेव ज्योतिषीनाम्ने ब्राह्मणा[य]⁵
 14 —⁶ सोदकपूर्वकं प्रदत्तां । — — — — —⁷
 15 — — श्री — उत्तरे — — — — — बन्दी
 16 — — — — — परित⁷ स्वसीमापर्यंत
 17 — क — — म — — — त — — — — —⁷
 18 — — — — — [सोदकपूर्वक] [प्रदत्ता]
 19 — — — — — — — — — —⁸
 20 — — — — — — — — — —⁸

No. 17.—BIHAR KOTRA INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN'S TIME ; [MALAVA]
 YEAR 474.

By S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., BOMBAY.

The stone bearing the subjoined inscription,⁹ which is edited here for the first time, was discovered at Bihar Kotra in the Rajgad State, Malwa, and is now exhibited in the Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

The document consists of six lines of writing engraved on a stone slab measuring 1' 4" × 1' 2" × 7" and is well preserved. The **characters** belong to the Central Indian variety of the Southern alphabet which in its simplest form closely agrees with the Western variety of the same alphabet.¹⁰ The following palæographical peculiarities may be noticed. The most important common characteristics of the Southern alphabet are found in the open top of the letters *gh*, *p*, *sh*, and *s* and also in the retention of the tripartite *y* and of the long stroke on the right of *l*. The letter *m* does not show the ancient form. It has a straight base-stroke in all cases, which indicates the influence of the Northern alphabet.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The **orthography** suggests the following remarks. A consonant is doubled before and after *r* as in *puttrēṇa* (1. 4), *chāturddisam* and *sarvva* (1. 5). The final *m* of a word remains unchanged and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in *siddham* (1. 1) and *dvitīyāyām* (1. 3).

¹ The reading may be *riṣhayē*.

² [Reading may be *śrī-Jhēpa*.—N. L. R.]

³ Reading doubtful.

⁴ Letters illegible.

⁵ This letter is defaced.

⁶ Illegible.

⁷ Though some letters are legible, sense cannot be made out.

⁸ The whole line is illegible.

⁹ It was noticed by Mr. G. V. Acharya in the *Annual Report of the Prince of Wales Museum* for the year 1938-39, p. 12 and pl. facing p. 12. [This inscription has been noticed by me in *An. Rep. A. S. R.* 1938-39 where I have discussed in detail the question of Naravarman's successors including Vishṇuvardhana.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, Eng. ed., pp. 61-2.

BIHAR KOTRA INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN'S TIME; [MALAVA] YEAR 474.



The inscription records the digging of a reservoir in the name of the *bhikshusaṅgha* of the four quarters for the quenching of thirst of all beings. The gift was made by one **Virasēna**, son of Bhaṭṭimahara, on the second day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the reign of Mahārāja Naravarman, when four hundred and seventy-four years had elapsed, i.e., in A. D. 417-18.

Naravarman is already known to us from the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 461, in which he is mentioned as the son of Simhavarman and the grandson of Jayavarman.¹ He is mentioned also in the Gangdhar inscription² of his son Viśvavarman of the Mālava year 480. Again, Viśvavarman is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription³ of his son Bandhuvarman, who was a contemporary and also the feudatory of the Emperor Kumāragupta I. The inscription of Bandhuvarman states that while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura (Mandasor), the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun in the Mālava year 493 and that the same guild restored part of the temple, which fell into disrepair under other kings, in the Mālava year 529. The entire inscription was actually composed and engraved at the latter date. But it does not give us any information about the successors of Bandhuvarman.⁴ Here, the present record comes to our help. Naravarman is described as '*aulikara*'. Now, in the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 589, the family of Yaśōdharman or Vishṇuvardhana is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara-lāṅchhana*.⁵ Evidently, Naravarman of our record and Yaśōdharman belonged to the same family. Thus Yaśōdharman, whose arms penetrated as far as the Himalayas, who was lord of the countries which were not possessed even by the Guptas or the Hūṇas, and to whose feet obeisance was made even by the famous Hūṇa king Mihirakula, can no longer be regarded as a military adventurer of the type of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa (first quarter of the seventh century) and Yaśōvarman of Kanauj (first half of the eighth century). For, from the present record we know at least one of his predecessors.

TEXT.⁶

1 [Si*]ddham⁷[*] Śrīr⁸=mmahārāja-Narvarmmaṇaḥ aulikarasya⁹

2 rājya¹⁰-samvatsarē chaturshu varsha-śatēshu chatu[*]-

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 315.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 18.

⁴ [Prabhākara of the Mandasor inscription of V. 524 was perhaps the successor, if not the son, of Bandhuvarman.—Ed.]

⁵ A satisfactory explanation of the word *aulikara* has not yet been obtained. But *lāṅchhana* "is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajās* or banners." Thus, the Kadambas of Banavāsī had the *śikhā-charēndra-dhvaja* or *vānara-mahādhwaja*, but the *simha-lāṅchhana* on the seals of their grants and on their coins. So also the Chālukyas had the *varāha-lāṅchhana*. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 151, note 4. [*Aulikara* may be synonymous with *Limakara*.—Ed.]

⁶ From the original stone.

⁷ The word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2.

⁸ The word *śrī*, forming the first part of a compound word, is used with a *ribhakti*. As a separate word it is used in the third case-ending, meaning *saha* or *yukta*. But in the present inscription it is used in the first case-ending. [There are other instances of this usage; e.g., *śrīr=mmahārāj-Ōmavarmā* in the Dhavalapētā copper-plates of Umavarman (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 144).—Ed.]

⁹ The form of the initial *au* in the present record differs from that occurring in the same word *aulikara* (l. 5) in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman of the Mālava year 589. In the latter inscription the stroke indicating the length of *au* is attached to the upper part of the letter; in the former the lower part of the letter curves to the left and not to the right as in the Mandasor inscription, which expresses the length of the vowel. [The letter looks more like *ō* than *au*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ There is a vertical stroke before the word *rājya*, which apparently forms part of a letter. What looks like an *ē-mātrā* in *rājya* is merely a scratch.

- 3 [sa*] ptatēshu¹ Śrāvaṇa-śukla-dvitiyāyām Bhaṭṭimaha-
 4 ra-sat-puttrēṇa Virasēnēn-āyam=udapānaḥ khāni-
 5 taś=chāturddisaṁ bhikshu-saṅgham=uddiśya sarvva-satvānām
 6 ṭriṣṇā-kshayāy=āstu² [*]

No. 18.—DHAVALAPETA PLATES OF MAHARAJA UMAVARMAN.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were turned up by a farmer while digging his land in the village of **Dhavalapēṭa**, situated about twelve miles from Chicacole in the Vizagapatam District of Madras. The last plate of the set was melted and destroyed by the cultivator under the impression that it was made of gold. Fortunately, however, the remaining two plates of the set ultimately found their way into the hands of Mr. Manda Narasimham, in whose possession they lie at present. The plates were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1937-38³ and the inscription was published for the first time by the present owner of the plates, Mr. Narasimham⁴. I now re-edit the record from a set of excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These are **two plates** of copper measuring 6½" by 2½" and having their edges plain. The plates slide on, through a hole at the proper right margin of each of them, to a copper-ring the ends of which are soldered on to an elliptical **seal**, 3½" by 2½" in size. In the depression of the seal there is inscribed in relief a four-line **legend** in the same characters as those of the plates. The inscription on the seal is, however, in a very imperfect state of preservation. It is just possible that it ends, as in the case of the seal of the Bṛihatprōshthā grant⁵, with *Mahārāj-Ōmavarmmasya*. The inscription itself, which is in an excellent state of preservation, runs into twelve lines with four lines given to each of the three plates⁶. The first plate, which has been slightly damaged, is inscribed on its inner side only; while the second one contains writing on both of its faces.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Bṛihatprōshthā plates of Umavarman⁷ and the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman⁸. Some of their leading features are the following: (1) the initial *a* occurs once in *asty*= (1. 4) and *ā* in *ā-sahasrāmśu*= (1. 6) and (2) the final forms of *m* and *t*, which are engraved in smaller characters, are found in *karitavyam* (1. 9) and *Sunagarāt* (1. 1) respectively. The letter *chha* occurs in *Chhandōga* (1. 5).

In respect of **orthography**, the following points deserve notice. (1) A consonant has been invariably doubled after *r* and only once before it (*Cf. kkrama*, l. 11). (2) Both *b* and *v* have been indicated by separate signs. The rules of *sandhi* have been faithfully adhered to.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole of the extant portion of the record is in prose. The **inscription** is **incomplete**, owing to the fact that the last plate of the set had been foolishly destroyed.

¹ Read *sa-chatuḥ-saptatishu*.

² After *āstu* there are faint traces of two slanting strokes. These may be scratches rather than the mark of *pūrnavirāma*, i.e. full-stop.

³ C. P. No. 22.

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 143-44 and plates.

⁵ Above, Vol. XII, p. 4.

⁶ The complete inscription must have run into 16 lines at least, granting another four lines in addition for the missing plate.

⁷ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6 and plates.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3 and plates.

The engraver has done his work neatly. He has, however, left a few evidences of occasional remissness on his part as will be evident from two or three minor corrections in the text of the inscription (*Cf.* lines 4 and 6) which he inserted subsequently.

The inscription is one of *Mahārāja* Umavarman. It was issued from Sunagara. It records the gift of the village of Kuttura including the road (passing through it). The village was situated in the Mahēndra *bhōga*. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Khallasvāmin, who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was a student of the Chhandōga *śākhā*. The gift village was constituted into a free-hold *agrahāra*. After announcing the nature of the gift, the record urges the householders of the village to honour the same. The names of the writer and the engraver of the inscription and, what would have been of outstanding importance to us, the date, have not been preserved owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The chief interest of the record under discussion naturally centres round the personality of its donor. As many as three separate copper-plate inscriptions (including the present one) have come to light up till now, with their provenances remarkably restricted in area. Each of these inscriptions speaks of a king called Umavarman. For convenience' sake, I append the relevant data in tabular form as follows :—

Name of Inscription.	Place of Origin.	Distinctive titles of Donor-King.	Year.	Scribe.
1. Tēkkali ¹ (Ganjām District)	Vardhamānapura	<i>Mahārāja</i>	9	Kēśavādēva, a resident of Pishṭapura.
2. Brihatprōshthā ² (Vizagapatam District).	Sinhapura ³	<i>Mahārāja, Kaling-ādhipati.</i>	30	Mātrivara ⁴ (name restored).
3. Dhavalapēta (Vizagapatam District).	Sunagara	<i>Mahārāja</i>	not preserved.	not preserved.

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53-54. Also noticed in the *Ann. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934-35 (C. P. No. 13). It is noteworthy that although the plates came from the Ganjām District, the place from which they were issued, *viz.*, Vardhamānapura, has been identified (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. E.*, p. 52) with Vaḍama situated in the Palkonda *tāluk* of the Vizagapatam District. Further the scribe of this record professes to have been a resident of Pishṭapura, identified with modern Pithāpuram in the same district.

² Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6.

³ Dr. E. Hultzsch's reading of this word as *Sihapura* (Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, *Text*, line 1) does not appear to be borne out by the facsimile of the inscription. The correct reading, I believe, is, as elsewhere, *Sinhapura*. The medial *i* sign of *Si* with an *anusvāra* enclosed in its top loop, is clearly visible in the facsimile. *Cf.* in this connection the word *Sinhapura* in the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman (Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 144 line 1).

⁴ The Tirithāṇa Plates of Chaṇḍavarman (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. Epigraphy* for 1934-35, C. P. No. 12), which is being edited by me for publication in the present journal, has for its scribe a person called *Dēsākshapatalādhikṛita* Rudradatta, son of Mātrivara. The damaged condition of the Brihatprōshthā grant prevented Dr. E. Hultzsch from correctly deciphering (Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, *Text*, line 16) the name of the writer of the same. This name has now been happily restored by Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. E.* for 1934-35, p. 51 and *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1934-35, p. 64) as *Mātrivara*, who has further been identified with his namesake mentioned in the Tirithāṇa grant as being the father of its writer, Rudradatta. Thus, the Brihatprōshthā and the Tirithāṇa grants, between themselves, reveal the existence of a family of scribes who plied their trade in two royal courts of ancient Kalinga. The pedigree of this family, or rather a part of it as far as known, may be set forth as follows :—

Haridatta
|
Mātrivara
|
Rudradatta

Scholars have widely differed on the question of the identity of the Umavarman of the records mentioned above. Some have sought to differentiate the donor of the Bṛihatprōshthā grant from that of the other two ; while others are less sure on the matter.

To be sure, the problem, though admittedly of a ticklish nature, does not seem entirely beyond the range of a solution.

Of one thing we may at once regard ourselves as fairly sure : *viz.*, a decided affinity between the Bṛihatprōshthā grant and the record under discussion. Both of them come from the Vizagapatam District of Madras. Of more practical importance for our present purposes is the palæography of the inscriptions concerned. They show the same thick-set ductus of writing ; the characters have in both cases a tendency to assume a squat and rounded shape. The phraseology, especially in the formal parts of the two records, is almost identical in both. Lastly, the seals of the two grants present the same features.

In short, the Bṛihatprōshthā and the Dhavalapēṭa records betray a striking homogeneity and family-likeness which eliminate the supposition of some mere chance or coincidence : a fact which justifies the assumption that the two records may have been drafted under the auspices of an identical ruler, and if not by an identical hand, at least by persons not far removed from each other in point of time. To be more precise, it brings the Dhavalapēṭa grant very near to the date (Year 30) given in the Bṛihatprōshthā grant. In fact, I believe that the **Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshthā grant is to be regarded as identical with his namesake of the record under discussion.**

There is also, I think, reason to believe that the Dhavalapēṭa plates were issued immediately before the Bṛihatprōshthā grant : for, in the latter record Umavarman is made to assume the ambitious (though, at this period, all too common) title of '*Kaliṅgādhipati*', which is absent in the Dhavalapēṭa plates. The Bṛihatprōshthā grant, therefore, seems to have been issued on the occasion of some notable military success won by Umavarman at the expense of some local ruler.

I am at present not in a position to identify the **localities** mentioned in the inscription.

Palæographically, our inscription has to be referred to the **first half of the 5th century A. D.** As such, it falls into line with such other early records from Kaliṅga as the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman¹, Jirjīngi Plates of Indravarman², *etc.*

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 'Om Svasti [[[*]] **Sunagarāt** paramadaivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ā-
- 2 nudhyātaḥ śrīr=mmahārāj-**Ōmavarmma Mahēndra-bhōgē Kuttu-**
- 3 **ra-grāmē** sarvva-samanvāgatān=kuṭumbinas-samājūāpa-
- 4 {ya}ti [[[*]] asty-ēsha grāmō-smābhīr-ātmana⁴{h[*]] puṇy-āyu[r*].⁵ yaśō-bhividdha-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plates.

² Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281 ff.

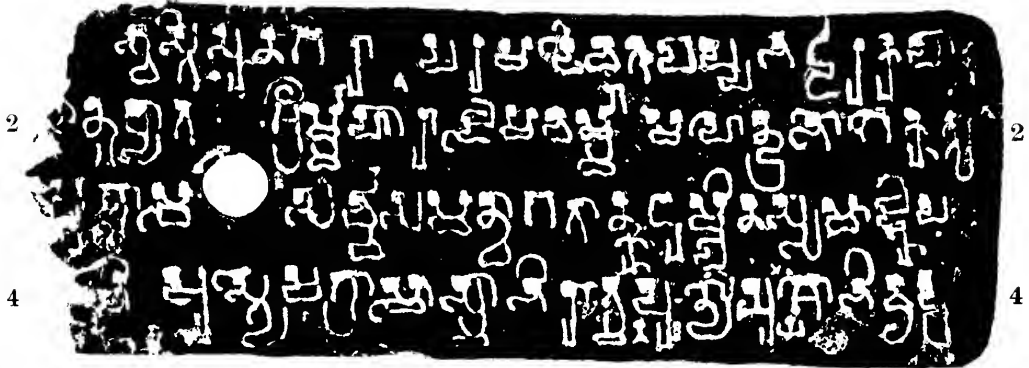
³ From ink-impressions.

⁴ The ornamental symbol representing *Om* has been engraved at the beginning of line 2.

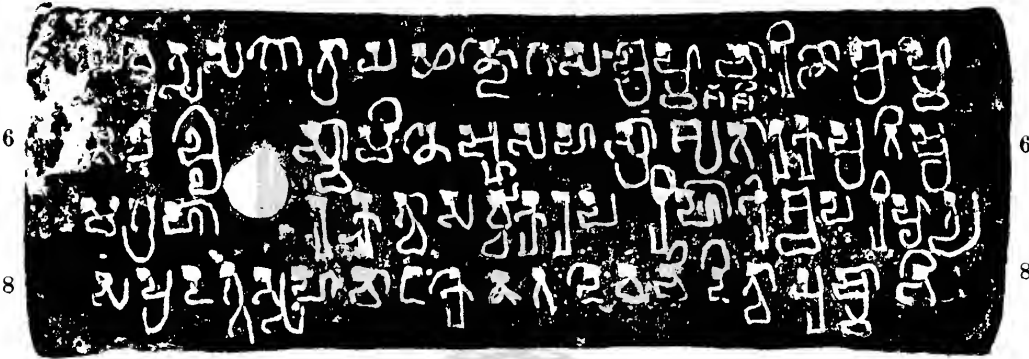
⁵ The letter *na* had been originally passed over by the engraver and was subsequently inserted at the foot of the line.

⁶ The letter *ya* of *yaśō-* has been engraved below the line, the correction being indicated by a little × mark at the top.

i.



ii, a.



ii, b.



Second Plate ; First Side.

- 5 yē Vatsa-sagōtrāya Chhandōga-sabrahmachārīṇē brāhma-
 6 ṇa-Khallasvāminē ā-sahasrāmśu-saśī¹-tāraka-pratishṭha-
 7 m-agrahāra[m] kṛitvā sarvva-kara-parihāraiś-cha parihṛitya
 8 sanipradattas=saha vāṭakēna[*] tad=ēvaṁ viditvā yuslmābhilḥ

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 pūrvv-ōchita-maryyādā(da)y=ōpasthānam karttavayam[*] yach=ch=ātra
 10 kinchid=utpadyatē mēya-hiraṇy-ādi tat=sarvvam=u-
 11 panēyam[*] bhaviṣyataś-cha rājñō vijñāpayati[*] dharma-kkrama-
 12 [vikra]māṇam-anyatama-yōgād=avāpya mahīm=anūsātā²

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-4) Ōm Hail ! From **Sunagara**, the illustrious king (*Mahārāja*) **Umavarman**, who is a devout worshipper of the gods and devoted to the feet of (*his*) father, commands all the householders *en masse* at the Village of **Kuttura** (*which is situated*) in the Mahendra-bhōga (*as follows*) :

(Ll. 4-8) “ We have granted this village including the road³ (*passing through* it), for the increase of (*Our*) own religious merit, life and fame, to the Brāhmaṇa, Khallasvāmin, who belongs to the Vatsa *gōtra* and who is a religious student of the Chhandōga *śākhā*, after making it an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the sun, the moon and the stars, and exempting it from the liability of paying all taxes.

(Ll. 8-11) “ Having known this, you should regard (*this gift*) with the honour as obtaining heretofore ; you should also surrender (*to the donee*) whatever grows on this (*soil*) (*in the shape of*) grain (*mēya*), gold, *etc.*”

(Ll. 11-12) The King further exhorts the future rulers (*as follows*) : “ Having obtained possession of the earth either by right, or by succession, or by valour and ruling (*it*).....

No. 19.—SPURIOUSNESS OF THE NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

BY DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

There is a controversy over the character of the Nālandā Plate of Samudragupta dated in the year 5. In *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1927-28, p. 138, Dr. Hirananda Sastri says, “ As in the latter document (*i.e.*, the Gayā Plate) so in the one under notice (*i.e.*, the Nālandā Plate), the epithets of Samudragupta from *Sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttuḥ* (line 1) to *Lichchhivi-dauhitrasya* (line 4) are given in the genitive case, but *Kumārādēvyām=utpannaḥ Paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptaḥ* in the nominative case. Obviously, therefore, this new plate must also be treated as spurious”. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, points out that “ one ungrammatical clause, which is common to both, is not enough to stamp either as spurious. On the other hand, the alphabet of this Plate (*i.e.*, the Nālandā Plate) is really of the time of Samudragupta, though

¹ This word, which the scribe forgot to engrave, has been inserted at the top of the line.

² Following the text of the Brihatprśhthā grant, one might restore the rest of this sentence as =anūsātām=pravṛttakam=idan=dānam sad-dharmmam=anupaśyadbhir=śhō=grahārō=nupālyah[*].

³ The other alternative meanings of this word *vāṭaka* such as ‘ garden ’, ‘ orchard ’, *etc.*, do not seem to be applicable here.

that of No. 1540 (*i.e.*, the Gayā Plate) is of the 8th century"¹. Thus while Dr. Sastri declares the record to be spurious, Dr. Bhandarkar admits the possibility of its genuineness. Mr. A. Ghosh, who has recently edited² the Nālandā plate, is, "on the whole, inclined to think that the genuineness of the present Plate is not above suspicion"³. Mr. Ghosh rightly points out⁴ that the authenticity of the Nālandā record would indicate an abnormally long period for three generations, *viz.*, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Further, he points out⁵ the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* which is *abundant* in both the Gayā and Nālandā Plates as a "feature, remarkable for the Gupta period". He, however, does not lay much emphasis on this point. Such use is not found in the genuine records of the early Gupta kings⁶. This characteristic, therefore, appears to suggest that the record is a late forgery.

Samudragupta's epithet *chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdh-āharttuḥ* is, again, very suspicious. It is only used in the records of his successors and is conspicuous by its absence from the elaborate description of his achievements in the Allahābād pillar inscription. It is indeed highly improbable that Samudragupta performed the horse-sacrifice before the fifth year of his reign or of the Gupta era.

The most important point in this connection is, in my opinion, the title *Paramabhāgavata* applied to the name of Samudragupta in both the Gayā and Nālandā Plates. That Samudragupta was not a *Paramabhāgavata* is proved beyond doubt by the striking facts that he is nowhere given that title and that several records of the later members of his family mention the names of Samudragupta and his predecessors without that title, but, at the same time, apply it to the names of all his successors. The Gupta genealogy given in the Bhitari pillar inscription⁷ of Skandagupta, may be cited as an example.

That Samudragupta was not a *Paramabhāgavata* is proved not only by the inscriptions, but also by the evidence of coins. The title is found with the names of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta on a number of their coin-types, but not with the name of Samudragupta on any of his numerous types⁸.

The above facts prove that as Chandragupta I was the first *Mahārājādhirāja*, so was Chandragupta II the first *Paramabhāgavata* among the Gupta emperors. There is reason to believe that the latter king was at the root of the great popularity of the Bhāgavata religion and of such titles as *Paramabhāgavata* from the 4th-5th century A. D. Samudragupta might have been a Vaishṇava⁹, but he was evidently not a *Bhāgavata*, *i.e.*, follower of the Bhāgavata form of Vaishnavism.

There is thus hardly any doubt that the epithets of Samudragupta in the Nālandā Plate were copied from the records of his successors. The Nālandā Plate is therefore forged and is certainly later than "the time of Samudragupta".

¹ *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2075, n. 1. Dr. Bhandarkar lays great stress on the early script used in the Nālandā Plate. It is, however, always very easy for a forger to copy the script only four centuries older.

² Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 50 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶ There is not a single instance of the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* in any of the genuine records of the Gupta kings edited by Fleet in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III. The earliest use noticed there is in the Khōh grant of Hastin dated in the Gupta year 156 (*Ibid.*, p. 94).

⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 52 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225, n.

⁸ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 161—62.

⁹ The Garuda emblem on his coins may suggest that his religion was Vaishnavism. But this is not beyond doubt. Śālaṅkāyana Dēvavarman was a *Paramamāhēśvara*, but Nandivarmān II a *Paramabhāgavata*. They, however, not only used the same Śaivite emblem on their seals, but also advocated their devotion to Chitrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas (Sircar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 84). Such emblems appear to have been connected with the faith of the founder of a particular royal line.

No. 20.—BASIM PLATES OF VAKATAKA VINDHYASAKTI II.

BY MAHĀMAHŪPĀDHYĀYA PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A. AND D. B. MAHAJAN, B.A.

These plates were discovered by Pandit Vasudev Śāstrī Dhanagare at **Bāsim**, the headquarters of the Bāsim *tālukā* of the Akolā District in Berār. They were brought to the notice of scholars at the second session of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta in December 1939 when Mr. Y. K. Deshpande read an article on them contributed by him jointly with Mr. D. B. Mahajan, B.A., Superintendent of Land Records, Akolā. The article is expected to be published soon in the *Proceedings* of the Congress¹. We re-edit the inscription here with the consent of Pandit Dhanagare and Mr. Y. K. Deshpande.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, each measuring 6·1" broad and 3·4" high. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1·2" from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole ·25" in diameter for the ring which holds the plates together. The ring, however, has no seal.² The total weight of the plates together with the ring is 47½ *tolas*. The inscription contains thirty lines of writing which are equally distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the South-Indian alphabet, resembling those of the copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasēna II. As in the latter, the medial *au* is bipartite, see *-pauṭrasya*, l. 3; *kh* has a loop at the bottom in *likhitaṁ*, l. 29 and *rakkhāpedha*, l. 25, but not in *kkhanaka*, l. 20 and *rakkhadha*, l. 25; *t* and *n* are not distinguished in many places, both being denoted by the same looped form, see *=vachanāt*, l. 5 and *hēmantā*, l. 28; in *anumanṇati*, l. 26, on the other hand, *n* appears without a loop exactly like *t*. It is again noteworthy that the lingual *ṇ* has an identical form whether it is used as a subscript or a superscript letter, see *a-hiraṇṇa-dhāṇṇa* l. 20, while in the grants³ of Pravarasēna II, the Tālagunda inscription⁴ of Kākusthavarmaṇ and other records of the period, the subscript *ṇ* has generally the same form as the dental *n*. Numerical symbols for 30, 7 and 4 occur in lines 28 and 29 of the text and those for 1 to 4 on the first inscribed side of the respective plates. Of these, the symbol for 4 in line 29 is noteworthy; for it consists of the sign for *ka* with an additional curve, not at the top as usual,⁵ but at the right side of its horizontal bar. In the margin of the same plate, the symbol is exactly like *ka*. A final consonant is indicated by its short form without a box at the head, see *=vachanāt*, l. 5. Finally a crescent-like curve is used here and there as a mark of punctuation which is redundant in most cases. The **language** of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Prākṛit. The genealogical portion of the grant in lines 1–5 is in Sanskrit; the formal portion which follows is in Prākṛit, but like the Hirahāḍagalli plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit.⁶ It is noteworthy that as in the early Prākṛit inscriptions of the Pallavas and

¹ The article has been published since this was sent to the press. See *Proceedings* of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, pp. 449 ff. and plates.

² All the complete grants of Pravarasēna II, which have been published so far, have a round seal with a metrical legend, but without any device, see, e.g., the seal of the Tirōḍi plates, above, Vol. XXII, plate facing p. 173.

³ See, e.g., *suvarṇa* in l. 45 of the Paṭṭaṇ plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 25 and n. 2.

⁵ See Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel IX.

⁶ In the Hirahāḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.) the expression is *Svasti gō-brāhmaṇa-līkhaka-vāchaka=brōṭṛibhya itī*, while in the present grant it is *Siddhīr=astu*.

Brihatphalīyanas, there are no benedictive or imprecatory verses at the end. The Sanskrit portion calls for no special notice except that the *gōtra* of the Vākātakas which is usually given as Vishṇuvṛiddha, appears here in the form Vṛishṇivṛiddha. The former is evidently the correct form, for it is the only form of the *gōtra* given by the standard works¹ on *gōtras* and *pravaras*. The Prākṛit portion of the inscription deserves careful study; for, this is one of the few copper-plate grants from South India which contain a detailed portion in Prākṛit. Even in this portion, however, the language is influenced by Sanskrit; see, for instance, the Sanskrit expressions *svasti-śānti-vāchanē*, ll. 8-9, *sa-mañcha-mahākaraṇa*, l. 24 and *a-danyamāṇam*,² l. 25, which are inserted in the midst of Prākṛit sentences. As shown below, the present grant has many technical expressions mentioning exemptions granted to the donees which are common to the grants of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman, but unlike the latter the present inscription shows several instances of double consonants, though cases of single consonants doing duty for double ones are by no means rare, see, e.g., *chātuvvejja-ggāma-majjūtā*, l. 19, *a-puppha-kkhira-ggahaṇa*, l. 21, *Vidhiijesi*, l. 13, *Sivajjesi*, l. 16, etc. and contrast them with *Revatijesi*, l. 18, *Chāndaiesi*, l. 14, etc. In some respects the language of the present record does not strictly conform to the rules of Prākṛit grammarians, see, e.g., *tiṇṇā* (Sanskrit, *trayaḥ*) in l. 17 instead of *tiṇṇi* laid down by Vararuchi, VI, 56; *tissa* in l. 27 instead of *tassa*³. Other noteworthy forms are *se* in l. 19 in the sense of *tasya*,⁴ *ya* in ll. 7, 19, 25 and 26 meaning *cha*,⁵ and the euphonic nasal in *etthaṇ-gāme* in l. 9. As for the dialect used, it is, as might be expected, the Mahārāṣṭrī, see, e.g., *āpuṇo* (for the regular *appaṇo*⁶) in l. 8, but it is curious to note that this record found in the heart of Mahārāṣṭra exhibits some peculiarities which are usually ascribed to the Śaurasēnī; see, e.g., the softening of *th* into *dh* in *Adhivvaṇika*, l. 9 and the verbal forms *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, *pariharadha* and *pariharāpedha*⁷ in lines 25 and 26 and *dāṇi*⁸ in l. 8. On the other hand, we have hardening of *d* into *t* in *-majjūtā*, l. 19, as in the Pāṣāṭhī⁹. These forms show that the peculiarities of the several dialects were not strictly confined to the provinces after which they were named.

Especially noteworthy are the forms in *si* (or, *siṃ*) used in the sense of the dative, e.g., *Jivujjesiṃ* (Sanskrit, *Jivāryāya*), *Ruddajjesi* (Sanskrit, *Rudrāryāya*), etc., in ll. 10-18. According to grammarians¹⁰ the dative case has disappeared from the Prākṛits, its place being taken by the genitive. The genitive singular of nouns in *a* usually ends in *ssa* (written as *sa* in very early records) and this is the form which is invariably found in other Prākṛit inscriptions. In the present grant, on the other hand, we find the form in *si* (or *siṃ*¹¹) used throughout. It

¹ See, e.g., the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, pp. 44, etc.

² [See below p. 153, n. 4—Ed.]

³ Vararuchi, VI, 6 mentions *tissā* as genitive singular in the feminine.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 11.

⁵ Similarly *ya* is used in this sense in line 6 of the Mayidavōlu plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 87) and in lines 12 and 14 of the Ellore plates of the Śālaṅkāyana Dēvavarman, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 58 and 59.

⁶ Vararuchi, V, 46. The Hirahaḍagalli plates have *appaṇa* in l. 8. In Śaurasēnī the form would be *attanō*.

⁷ Vararuchi, XII, 3. It may be noted that the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman in l. 20 and the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi (above, Vol. VIII, p. 146) in l. 11 have *pariharatha* and *pariharāpetha*.

⁸ Hēmachandra lays down *dāṇim* in VIII, 4, 277, but says that the final *anusvāra* is optionally dropped (VIII, l. 29). The Hirahaḍagalli plates (l. 7) have the same form as here, while the Mayidavōlu plates (l. 5) and the Koṇḍamudi plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 317, l. 7) have *dāni*.

⁹ It is noteworthy that *-majjūtāye* occurs in l. 45 of the Hirahaḍagalli plates and *-majjādāya* in l. 18 of the Mayidavōlu plates. Both these records are of the same period and come from the same part of South India.

¹⁰ Vararuchi, VI, 64.

¹¹ *Siṃ* is used only in three or four places in ll. 10-12.

seems to have been modelled on the genitive plural forms of pronouns, e.g., *jesim*, *tesim*, *kesim*, etc., just as the pronominal form *etāna* is made on the analogy of *bāmhaṇāṇa*¹ which accompanies it in l. 17. This form in *si* has survived in old Marāṭhī works like the *Līlūcharitra* and the *Jñānēśvarī* and is plainly the source of the modern Marāṭhī affix *sa*. Scholars have long been in doubt about the origin of this affix. Some derived it from the Prākṛit affix *ssa*, but as Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has pointed out the form in *sa* does not occur in old Marāṭhī works which throughout exhibit only the form in *si*². Other origins of this affix have been suggested. Bhandarkar traced it to the Sanskrit word *sama*³ and Rajavade to *āsa*⁴ (meaning 'near'). The numerous forms in *si* which occur in the sense of the dative in the present inscription leave no doubt that this affix is the real parent of the Marāṭhī affix *sa*.

The only **orthographical peculiarities** that call for notice are the reduplication of a consonant after *r* (as in *Dharmma*-, l. 1) and *anusvāra* (in *kata[m]vva*, l. 26 and *sā[m*]vrchcharam*, l. 28), the use of *j* for *y* in *karejja*, l. 26 and *kerejjāma*, l. 28, and the use of the class nasal in place of an *anusvāra* in Sanskrit and Prākṛit words, see, e.g., *Vindhyaśaktīr*, and *Nāndikaḷasa*, l. 5, *a-chamm-aṅgālika*, l. 22 and *sa-mañcha-mahākaraṇa*, l. 24, etc.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present inscription opens with the word *drishṭam*,⁵ 'seen', the auspicious word *siddham* being written in the margin of the first plate as in the Hirahadagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman.⁶ The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Vākāṭaka** king, the *Dharmamahārāja Vindhyaśakti*. The object of it is to register the grant, by Vindhyaśakti, of the village *Ākāsapadda*⁷ which was situated near Takālakkhōppaka on the road going north from Nāndikaḷa. The donees were certain Brāhmaṇas of the *Ātharvaṇa charaṇa* or *Atharvavēda*. Brāhmaṇas of this Vēda, though now practically non-existent in the Central Provinces and Berār, were apparently not so rare in the age of the Vākāṭakas; for, the Tirōḍi plates⁸ of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II also register the grant of a village in the Bālāghāt District of the Central Provinces to a Brāhmaṇa of the *Atharvavēda*. The names of all the donees mentioned in lines 10-18 end in *ajja* (or, *aja*, Sanskrit, *ārya*) as in the early grants of the Pallavas, Bṛihatphalāyanas and Ānandas. The land or the revenue of the village was divided into four parts, of which three were assigned to eight Brāhmaṇas and the remaining one to one Brāhmaṇa. The shares of the former, again, were not equal; four of them received only half a share⁹ and the remaining four, two shares¹⁰ each.

¹ Forms like *etāna* are, of course, recognised by Vararuchi, VI, 4.

² R. G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures* (publ. in 1914), p. 204.

³ According to Bhandarkar the origin of the Marāṭhī affix *sa* is the same as that of Hindī *sē*, Gujarātī *sē* or *syā* and Sindhi *sē* or *sā*, *ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴ Rajvade, *Jñānēśvarichē Vyākaraṇa*, (Marāṭhī), p. 11.

⁵ This word does not occur in the beginning of the unfinished Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna II (above Vol. IX, p. 270) and the unfinished Drug plate, (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 212.)

⁶ In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 42), on the other hand, *drishṭam* is written in the margin and *siddham* in the first line.

⁷ The name of the village is used in the plural just like *Valūrakesu* in inscription No. 13 at Kārīlē (above, Vol. VII, p. 57).

⁸ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 172.

⁹ The text has *āddhaka* in l. 10, which probably means 'a half'. Compare *amsik-āddhā* in l. 21 of the Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman (above, Vol. VI, p. 317). *Āddhikā* which occurs in l. 39 of the Hirahadagalli plates (above, Vol. I, p. 9 and n. 24) has, however, been translated by Bühler as 'labourers'.

¹⁰ *Paṭa* in l. 15 corresponds to *paṭi-bhāga* or *paṭi-bhāga* in the Hirahadagalli plates (ll. 12, 13, etc., *passim*). In the Gōraṇṭla plates of Attivarman *paṭṭi* is used in the sense of a measure of land. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 103. Is *paṭṭi* or *pata* identical with *pūṭaka* which is mentioned as a measure of land in the Gunaighar copper-plate of Vainyagupta? See *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45 ff.

The plates are **dated** in the 37th year (expressed in numerical symbols) evidently of the reign of the donor Vindhyaśakti, on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Hēmana. This date does not admit of verification and there is no reference to any era, but that the record must be referred to an early period in the age of the Vākātakas appears not only from the use of the Prākṛit language in its formal portion but also from the manner of dating it; for such a season-date is met with only in one other Vākāṭaka inscription, *viz.*, the Dudia plates¹ of Pravara-sēna II. The present grant was written by the *Sēnāpati* Vaṇhu (Vishṇu) and was issued from Vatsagulma. Only one other grant is known to have been issued from this place, *viz.*, that recorded in the India Office plate² of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna.

Vatsagulma was probably the capital of Vindhyaśakti. It seems to have continued to be the Vākāṭaka capital at least down to the time of Dēvasēna and evidently attained great importance in course of time; for it gave its name to a particular style. In the opening verse of his Prākṛit play *Karpūramañjarī*, Rājāśekhara mentions Vachchhomī (which plainly corresponds to the Sanskrit Vātsagulmī) as a *riti* together with the Māgadhi and the Pāñchālī. Vachchhomī is clearly identical with Vaidarbhi. The latter form is derived from the name of the country of Vidarbha and the former from that of its capital Vachchhoma (Vatsagulma). Dr. Randle has shown by reference to the *Kāmasūtra* that the Vatsagulma country was situated in the south and that it corresponds to the Vākāṭaka kingdom.³ Rājāśekhara also tells us in his *Karpūramañjarī*⁴ that Vachchhoma was situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The importance of Vatsagulma as a centre of culture is suggested by the same author in his rhetorical work *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*.⁵ In the third *adhyāya* of it, Rājāśekhara states that the mythical Kāvya-purusha married the Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. Vatsagulma was evidently known as a centre of learning in the time of Rājāśekhara. This place is identical with Bāsim where the present plates were found. It is now regarded as a holy *kṣētra* and there are said to be as many as 108 *tīrthas* in it, associated with different gods and sages. The place-name is variously derived. The *Jayamaṅgalā*, a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*⁶ states that Vatsa and Gulma were two uterine brothers and princes of Dakṣiṇāpatha. The country settled by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka. The local *Mihātmya* gives an altogether different derivation. It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his very severe austerities made an assemblage (*gulma*) of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage. Since then the place came to be known as Vatsagulma.⁷ **Nāndikaḍa**, which was apparently the headquarters of a district,⁸ is probably identical with Nāndēḍ, the chief town of a district of the same name in the Nizām's dominions. **Tākālakkhōppaka** and the donated village **Ākāsapadda** which was situated near it cannot be definitely identified. From the description in line 6 we learn that they lay on the road going to the North from Nāndikaḍa. Now, on the road which connects Nāndēḍ with Bāsim which lies about 75 miles to the north of it, there are two villages Tākaliḡōhan and Tākali about 40 and 43

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 262.

² *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 180.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 179.

⁴ See *Karpūramañjarī* (Harvard Oriental Series ed.), p. 26.

⁵ Gaekwad's Oriental Series, ed. (1916), p. 10.

⁶ *Kāmasūtra* (Nirṇayasāgara Press ed.), p. 295. The *Bṛhatkathā* also mentions that Vatsa and Gulma were sons of a Brāhmaṇa and maternal uncles of Guṇāḍhiya, but it does not state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, I, 3, 4, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, 6, 9.

⁷ *Akolā District Gazetteer*, pp. 325 ff.

⁸ Similar names ending in *kaṭa* (e.g., *Ehōjakaṭa*, *Eṇnākaṭa*) occur in other grants of the Vākātakas as names of districts.

miles respectively from Nāndēd. One of these may represent ancient Takālakkhōppaka. About seven miles to the west of Takāligōhan there is still a small village named Āsunḍ which is possibly identical with Ākasapadda. The identification of Nāndikaḍa with Nāndēd, which is almost certain, shows that Vindhyasakti was ruling over southern Berār and the northern parts of the Nizām's Dominions.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the **historical information** furnished by it.

The present inscription gives the following **genealogy** of the donor Vindhyasakti: **Pravarasēna**, his son **Sarvasēna** and the latter's son **Vindhyasakti**. In connection with Vindhyasakti, the inscription purports to state that he had performed the Agnishtōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtishthōma, Bṛihaspatisava Sādyaskra and four Āsvamēdhas, and that he was a *Hārītiputra* (a son, i. e., a descendant of Hārītī) and *Dharmamahārāja*.¹ These two latter epithets are found applied to a Vākāṭaka king in the present grant only; for, they are nowhere mentioned in any of the grants of Prabhāvātiguṇṭā, Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēna II. They seem to have been adopted from the grants of the Kadambas. As only one Vindhyasakti is known to history, viz., the one who is mentioned in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas and in the stone inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā, it was at first naturally supposed that the donor of the plates was identical with the celebrated founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.² The use of the Prākṛit language in a portion of this record lent colour to this view; for, all other known Vākāṭaka inscriptions—whether on stone or on copper—are invariably in Sanskrit. The Bāsim plates were therefore supposed to carry the genealogy of the Vākāṭakas two generations before Vindhyasakti. A closer examination of the record has, however, shown that this identification cannot be upheld. The genealogical portion of the grant is faulty in construction; for it seems to repeat the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* three times in connection with Vindhyasakti³. Besides, it credits Vindhyasakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices as those mentioned in connection with Pravarasēna I in all other Vākāṭaka grants⁴. It seems therefore that the expressions *śrī-Pravarasēna*-

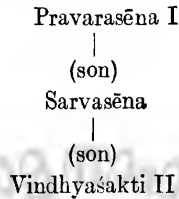
¹ The title *Dharmamahārāja*, which Hindu kings assumed in the early centuries of the Christian era, seems to have been suggested by the analogous one *Dharmamahāmātra* which appears as the title of a high official in the inscriptions of Aśoka. We find it for the first time in the Hīrahaḍagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. It is, however, noteworthy that the title was mentioned in Pallava grants only in connection with the name of the contemporary ruling king; for, in the early Sanskrit grants of the Pallavas which mention three generations (e. g., the Pikira and Māṅgaḷūr grants of Simhavarman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 162; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 155), the title is applied only to the ruling king who made the particular gift. This is probably the reason why the title does not occur in the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, for he was only a *Yuvarāja* when he issued the plates. The Kadambas adopted this title from the Pallavas after whom they rose to power. Their grants, however, mention this title even in connection with the ancestors of the ruling kings, see, e. g., the Bannahaḷḷi plates of Krishṇavarman II, above, Vol. VI, pp. 18 ff. The present Bāsim plates have adopted the same custom; for, as shown below, they mention this title in connection with the name of all the three kings, Pravarasēna, Sarvasēna and Vindhyasakti. In some later Kadamba grants we find the title mentioned in connection with the names of old kings only, which shows that it went out of use in course of time. Like the Kadambas the Early Chālukyas also called themselves Hārītiputras, but they rose to power long after the Vākāṭakas.

² This view is maintained in the article which was read at the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress.

³ This was first pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his note on the present plates published in the *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 182 ff. The repetition may, however, be attributed to the carelessness of the drafter of the record. An analogous instance is furnished by the Dēvagiri plates of the Kadamba *Yuvarāja* Dēvavarman, which apply the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* twice to his father Krishṇavarman, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 33-34.

⁴ See, e. g., the Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 85. The list is the same except that the Bāsim plates mention *Jyōtishthōma* in place of *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin* and *Atirāta*.

pañtrasya in l. 3 and *śrī-Sarvasēna-putrasya* in l. 4 are to be taken as *śrī-Pravarasēnasya pañtrasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya putrasya*, so that the preceding adjectival expressions in the genitive case including the epithet *Dharmamahārājasya* would agree with *śrī-Pravarasēnasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya* respectively. According to this construction, all the three kings, Pravarasēna Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti, would receive the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* and there would thus be no tautology. Besides, the expression *Agnishṭōm-āptōryyāma.....chatur-aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ* and *Samrāja*[h*] would now qualify *śrī-Pravarasēnasya*, showing that it was he, and not Vindhyaśakti, who performed these sacrifices and assumed the title of *Samrāt*. This is quite in accordance with the statement in other Vākāṭaka grants. Pravarasēna, who heads the genealogical list in the present plates, would thus be Pravarasēna I who, according to the Purāṇas, was the son of Vindhyaśakti. The Vākāṭaka king who granted the present plates should therefore be called Vindhyaśakti II. He thus becomes the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. The genealogy in the present plates would thus be as follows—



This would therefore be a different branch of the Vākāṭaka family ; for, according to the genealogy in several inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Prithivīśēṇa II, Pravarasēna I was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamīputra who probably did not come to the throne¹.

Let us next consider if we could adduce any other evidence to prove the existence of this hitherto unknown branch of the Vākāṭaka family.

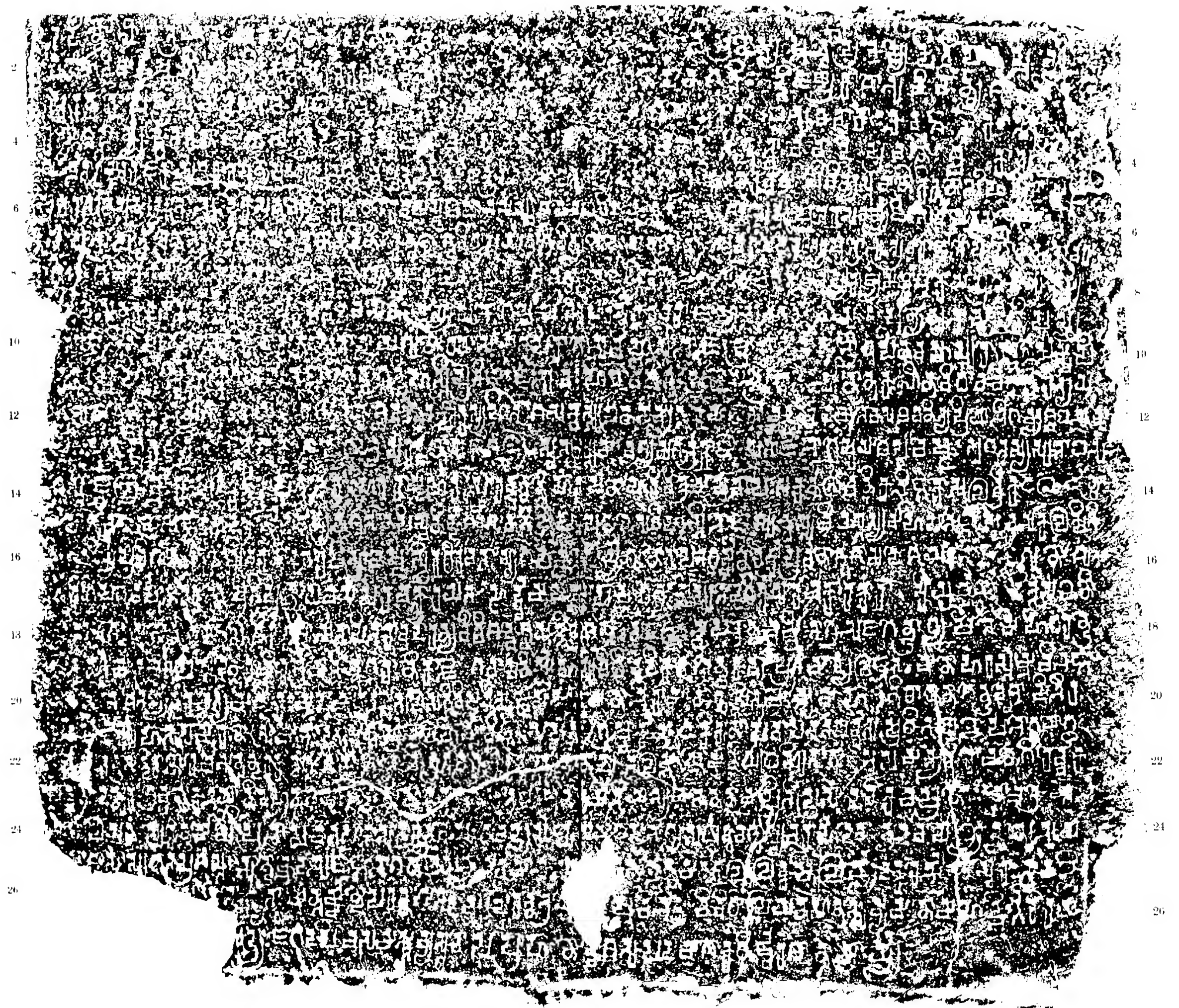
In this connection we would draw attention to the stone inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajañṭā. This inscription has been edited thrice before, first by Dr. Bhau Daji with 'a tolerably accurate facsimile' in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 53-74, then by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, pp. 69-73 and finally by Dr. Bühler in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 124-28. Dr. Bühler's transcript is accompanied by a lithograph of the record from a facsimile prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal². This lithograph has been somewhat worked up by hand. As it is, it seems to show that the inscribed stone is quite smooth where the inscription is well preserved, but those who have visited Ajañṭā and seen the inscription *in situ* know that it is just the reverse. This lithograph must therefore be used with caution and important readings of it must be verified from mechanical copies of the record. As we were suspicious about certain readings in the transcripts of Bhagwanlal and Bühler, we requested the Government Epigraphist for India to lend us a fresh estampage of the inscription. We are grateful to him for complying with our request and sending us an excellent estampage³.

The Ajañṭā inscription is very much worn especially in the middle and on the left hand side, but Bhagwanlal has, with his wonted skill, transcribed all that could be deciphered in his days. We give below his transcript of the first nine lines of the record for ready reference.

¹ Gautamīputra does not seem to have ascended the throne because in later Vākāṭaka grants the epithet *Vākāṭakīnām Mahārājasya* which invariably precedes the names of ruling kings is not prefixed to his name. See above, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 1.

See *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, Plate LVII.

³ The estampage is reproduced here with the kind permission of Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archæology, Hyderabad State.



- [१] उदीर्णलोकचयदीपवह्निर्वापनो^१
 . . प्रणस्य पूर्वां प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्वीम् [II]
- [२] महाविमर्द्विभित्तशक्तिः क्रुद्धस्मुरैरप्यनिवार्य[वीर्यः] [I]
 . . रणदानशक्तिः द्विजप्रकाशो भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः [II]
- [३] पुरन्दरोपेन्द्रसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुवीर्यार्जितसर्वलोकः [I]
 [यशो]शुकानां बभूव वाकाटकवंशकेतुः [II]
- [४] रणे[षु] ह्यर्थुत्थितरेणुजालसञ्छादितार्क [I]
 नरातीन्कृत्वा[भि]वादप्रवणाञ्चकार^२ [II]
- [५] [विनि]र्जितारि[स्मर]राजकार्यश्चकार पुण्येषु परं प्रयत्नं [I]
 नरेंद्रमौलिविन्यस्तमणिकिरणलीढक्रमाश्रुजः
- [६] प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरक्ष्ण^३रविमयूख
 [रुद्र ? सेनः] प्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्वसेनसुतोभवत्
- [७] पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य [प्रशशास] धर्म्येण मेदिनीम् कुन्तलेन्द्रवि
 . . . प्रवरसेनस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोर्जितोदारशासनप्रवरः [I]
- [८] [II] तस्यात्मजः कामत
 [I] मवाप्य राज्यमष्टाब्दकी यः प्रशशास
 सम्यक् [II]
- [९] तस्यात्मजोभून्नरदेव भुवि देवसेनः [I] यस्योपभोगैर्क्षितितैर्विपाव-
 नैर्नृदेवराजस्य भूः [II] पुण्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य

In his introduction to this inscription Bhagwanlal gave the following list of Vākātaka princes mentioned in it :—

- 1 Vindhyaśakti.
- 2 Pravarasēna.
- 3 (Rudra ?)sēna.
- 4
- 5 Dēvasēna.
- 6 Harishēna.

¹ The reading appears to be *vahni-nirvāpaṇō*.

² The reading is *pravaṇāmś=chakāra* as noted by Bühler.

³ Bühler read [ari-] before *narēndra* in l. 5 and *-ēndīvar-ēkshaṇaḥ* in l. 6. See also, above, Vol. VIII, p. 27.

He further remarked,¹ 'From the broken state of the inscription it is not clear whether Pravarasēna was a son of Vindhyaśakti, or, as is probable, of a member of the Vindhyaśakti family.² Of his son only *-sēna* is legible, preceded by a faintly traceable form like *dra*, so that the name may have been Bhadrasēna, Chandrasēna, Indrasēna, Rudrasēna, etc.' Bhagwanlal seems to have adopted the reading Rudrasēna, because this name occurs soon after that of Pravarasēna I³ in the Siwani and Chammak plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II, which had been discovered before. This list was next revised by Bühler in the introductory note to his transcript of the record in *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 128. Bühler thought that he could read, in the middle of line 7, the *aksharas pra* (or, *pri*)*thivī* which showed a name like Prithivishēna. As Rudrasēna was mentioned in the immediately preceding line he identified this prince with Prithivishēna, the son of Rudrasēna I, mentioned in the Vākāṭaka land-grants. Again, he proposed to read further on in the same line, *Pravarasē[nas=ta]sya putrō=bhūt*... in place of Bhagwanlal's *Pravarasēnasya putrō=bhūt*, and this Pravarasēna he identified with Pravarasēna II. According to him therefore the Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription were as follows :—

Vindhyaśakti,

|
(son?)

Pravarasēna I,

|
(son)

(Ru)drasēna I,

|
(son)

Prithivishēna,

|
(son)

Pravarasēna II,

|
(son)

.....

|
(son)

Dēvasēna,

|
(son)

Harishēna.

He also pointed out that the name of one prince, Rudrasēna II was omitted after Prithivishēna.

¹ Burgess and Indraji—*Inscriptions in the Cave-Temples of Western India*, *A. S. W. I.*, p. 69.

² Scholars are now agreed that this Pravarasēna was the son of Vindhyaśakti himself; for, he is evidently identical with Pravīra mentioned in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* as the son of Vindhyaśakti. See Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

³ He was Pravarasēna's grandson.

From the land-grants of Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēṇa II we get the following genealogy :—

Pravarasēna I,
 |
 (son)
 (Gautamīputra),
 |
 (son)
 Rudrasēna I,
 |
 (son)
 Prithivishēṇa I,
 |
 (son)
 Rudrasēna II,
 |
 (son)
 Pravarasēna II,
 |
 (son)
 Narēndrasēna,
 |
 (son)
 Prithivishēṇa II.

If we compare this list with Bühler's revised genealogy of Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription, two discrepancies in the latter at once strike us—(i) Rudrasēna I was not the son of Pravarasēna I, but was his grandson and (ii) Pravarasēna II was not the son of Prithivishēṇa I, but was his grandson. Fortunately, the Ajaṇṭā inscription is quite clear in the portions which describe these relationships, so that there is not the least doubt about the readings. In the former case the inscription reads [*Rudra?*]sēnaḥ *Pravarasēnasya jīta-sarvasēnas-sutō-bhavat* in line 6 and in the latter case, [*Prithivī ?*]shēṇaḥ *Pravarasēnas=tasya putrō=bhūt=pravar-ōrjjit-ōdāra-sāsana-pravaraḥ*. We must therefore suppose either that the poet committed mistakes in describing these relationships or that some of the readings of the royal names given by Bhagwanlal and Bühler are incorrect. The former alternative does not appear likely; for the inscription was composed under the direction of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa's minister and is on the whole very correctly written. It is, however, very much abraded in the portion where the names of Rudrasēna and Prithivishēṇa are supposed to occur and consequently mistakes in reading are not unlikely. On referring to the excellent estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist we found that the reading *Rudrasēnaḥ* was extremely doubtful. Both Bhagwanlal and Bühler also were not certain about it, but Bhagwanlal thought that he saw a faintly traceable form like *dra*. He proposed to read *Rudrasēnaḥ* evidently because Vākāṭaka land-grants mention a Rudrasēna, soon after Pravarasēna I. This reading was also adopted by Bühler. Referring to the lithograph used by both of them, we find that the upper member of the ligature is quite uncertain, but there appears a loop below it. This has evidently been taken to be the subscript *r* of *dra*. There are several instances of the subscript *r* in this lithograph, but in none of them is it denoted by a loop; it is always denoted by a hook open to the left. The estampage of the Government Epigraphist does not clearly show even this loop. The preceding *akshara ru* is of course completely gone as admitted by both Bhagwanlal and Bühler. The reading *Rudrasēnaḥ* is, therefore, to say the least, extremely doubtful.

Let us see if we could restore this royal name. The extant portion of this verse shows that the prince whose name is partially lost was a son of Pravarasēna who has now been identified by all scholars with Pravarasēna I. The Bāsim plates suggest that he might be Sarvasēna and the reading *Sarvasēnaḥ* would suit the metre as well as *Rudrasēnaḥ*. The latter part of the verse in l. 6 would therefore read *Sarvasēnaḥ Pravarasēnasya jīta-sarva-sēna-sautō=bhavat*. The resulting *yamaka* makes this reading quite plausible. The poet who composed this Ajaṇṭā inscription was fond of using *yamakas* based on proper names¹ as will be seen from the following lines :—

2 अभिवृद्धशक्तिः दानशक्तिः विन्ध्यशक्तिः ॥

7 प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रीभूषवरोर्ज्जितीदारशासनप्रवरः ।

10-11 हस्तिभोजः दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव ।

14 हरिषेणो हरिविक्रमप्रतापः ।

The description *jīta-sarva-sēnaḥ* of this prince was evidently suggested by his name Sarvasēna². The Bāsim plates have now shown that Sarvasēna was a son of Pravarasēna.³ This Pravarasēna, with whom the genealogy in the Bāsim plates begins, must therefore, be identified with Pravarasēna I.

In the middle of the next line (7) Bühler read the *aksharas pra* (or, *prī*) *thiv* and thought that they formed part of the royal name *Prithivishēna*. This prince he identified with Prithivishēna I. Referring to the lithograph used by him, we find that the *akshara* which he read as *thi* has a tapering top and is open below. It cannot therefore be read as *thi*, for, in other places in this inscription, *th* has invariably a round top and is closed at the bottom. See, for instance, *prathitō* in line 15, *prathita-guṇ-ōpabhōga* in line 21, etc. The *akshara* appears to be *śrī* of which the lower curve representing *r* is indistinct in that lithograph.⁴ The following *akshara* is clearly *vin*. In the new estampage we find clear traces of *dhya* following *vin*. Especially the elongated curve representing subscript *y* is unmistakable. The two following *aksharas* are almost certainly *sēnaḥ*.⁵ The name thus appears to be *śrī-Vindhyasēnaḥ*. This prince we identify with Vindhyasakti of the Bāsim plates.

As regards the remaining names we are in complete agreement with Bühler. They are Pravarasēna, Dēvasēna⁶ and Harishēna. Between Pravarasēna and Dēvasēna we have lost the name of a prince who, according to the inscription, came to the throne when he was a boy only eight years old. I do not, however, agree with Bühler's view that this Pravarasēna was

¹ For another instance of the use of *yamakas* based on personal names, see the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 66 ff.

² Otherwise, there is no special point in saying that he conquered all armies. One would rather expect an expression like *jīta-sarva-lōkaḥ* or *jīta-sarva-rājaḥ*.

³ It is possible to read *Sarvasēnaḥ* from the traces in the new estampage, but we prefer to rely for the reading *Sarvasēnaḥ* on the wording of the description in l. 6.

⁴ Traces of the subscript *r* can be clearly seen in the new estampage.

⁵ These *aksharas* were doubtfully read as *shēnaḥ* by Bühler.

⁶ I do not agree with Jayaswal's view (*History of India*, etc., pp. 75 & 79) that Dēvasēna abdicated in favour of his son Harishēna. The description in l. 13 is intended to glorify Hastibhōja, to whom Dēvasēna consigned the cares of government. Similar statements occur in other records, see, e.g., above, Vol. XXV, p. 14 (line 17 of the text). Harishēna is introduced for the first time in the next verse of that inscription.

Pravarasēna II, of whom several land-grants have come down to us. The names Vindhyasēna (or, Vindhyasakti) and Sarvasēna of his father and grandfather respectively show that he was different from Pravarasēna II, the son of Rudrasēna II and grandson of Prithivishēna I.

The genealogy of this branch of the Vākātaka family can be stated as follows :—

Vindhyasakti I,
|
(son)
Pravarasēna I,
|
(son)
Sarvasēna,
|
(son)
Vindhyasakti II (or, Vindhyasēna),
|
(son)
Pravarasēna II¹
|
son
(Name lost),
|
son
Dēvasēna,
|
son
Harishēna.

We know from the *Purāṇas* that Pravarasēna I had four sons who became kings. They apparently divided his extensive kingdom among themselves after his death. Gautamiputra who was probably his eldest son, seems to have predeceased him. Therefore, Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamiputra, succeeded Pravarasēna I. An inscription of this king has been discovered at Deotek in the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces,² not very far from Paunī where an ancient record of a king of the Bhāra clan (the later Bhāraśivas) has been found.³ He may, therefore, have acquired by inheritance the territory of the Bhāraśivas also. The copper-plates of his great-grandson Pravarasēna II record gifts of land at Chammak near Ellichpur⁴ in the Amraoti District, Chandrapura⁵ (modern Chāndur) in the Wardhā District, Paṭṭan⁶ in the Betul District, Tirōḍi⁷ in the Bālāghāt District and Brahmapūraka⁸ (modern Bāhmni) in the Bhaṇḍārā District. Pravarasēna II was therefore ruling over the northern parts of modern Berār and the territory comprised in the Siwani, Betul, Bālāghāt, Nāgpur, Bhaṇḍārā, Wardhā and Chāndā Districts of the Central Provinces. We do not know how much of this territory was acquired by Pravarasēna II or his immediate ancestors. But since the inscriptions of no other branch of the Vākātaka family have been found in these districts, we may suppose that the whole of the aforementioned territory was under the rule of Rudrasēna I also. His capital was probably Nandivardhana which is mentioned as the place of issue in the earliest

¹ In a combined genealogy of the two branches the son of Rudrasēna II may be called Pravarasēna III.

² *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference, Mysore*, pp. 613 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 11 ff.

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 235 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 93.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.

⁸ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 234 ff. and above, Vol. XXII, p. 211, n. 8.

copper-plate grant of this branch, viz., the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā¹ and the Bēlorā plates of her son Pravarasēna II.² Later on Pravarasēna II founded Pravarapura and shifted his seat of government there.

Prithivishēṇa II is the last known member of this branch. Scholars have long been in doubt about the relation of this Prithivishēṇa with Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar thought that the Vākāṭaka family branched forth after Pravarasēna II, Narēndrasēna, the father of Prithivishēṇa II, being a brother of the Vākāṭaka prince whose name is lost in the Ajaṇṭā inscription.³ Jayaswal, on the other hand, identified Narēndrasēna with this latter prince.⁴ The foregoing discussion will make it plain that the two branches had separated long before, i.e., after the reign of Pravarasēna I and that Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa belonged to a different line from that of Narēndrasēna and Prithivishēṇa II.

Only five inscriptions of this second branch of the Vākāṭaka family have been discovered so far, viz., the present Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, a fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Dēvasēna⁵ and three stone inscriptions of the reign of Harishēṇa, discovered at or near Ajaṇṭā,—one of his feudatory in Cave No. XVII⁶ and two of his minister Varāhadēva in cave No. XVI⁷ and the Ghaṭōtkacha cave⁸ at Gulwādā, about 11 miles west of Ajaṇṭā. The provenance of these inscriptions shows that this branch ruled over southern Berār and the northern parts of the Nizām's Dominions. Both the known copper-plate inscriptions of this branch have been issued from Vatsagulma⁹ which seems to have continued to be the seat of their government to the last.

According to the genealogy of the Vatsagulma branch fixed above, Vindhyaśakti II and his son Pravarasēna II were the contemporaries of Prithivishēṇa I and his son Rudrasēna II of the other branch. From the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā we know that Rudrasēna II was the son-in-law of Chandragupta II (A. D. 380-413). He may therefore have come to the throne in circa A. D. 400¹⁰. This is also the approximate date of the close of Vindhyaśakti II's reign. As we have seen, Vindhyaśakti II was the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. In view of the abnormally long reigns assigned in the *Purāṇas* to Vindhyaśakti I and Pravarasēna I¹¹ and the date, the thirty-seventh regnal year, of the present plates of Vindhyaśakti II, we shall not be wrong if we assign 150 years to the four reigns of Vindhyaśakti I, Pravarasēna I, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti II. Vindhyaśakti I, the founder of the dynasty, seems, therefore, to have risen to power about A. D. 250. Vindhyaśakti II was followed by four kings whose reigns must have

¹ Above, Vol XV, pp. 39 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol., XXIV, pp. 260 ff.

³ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. V, p. 35.

⁴ Jayaswal, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 76.

⁵ *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 177 ff.

⁶ A. S. W. I., Vol. IV, pp. 128 ff.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. The name of Varāhadēva is lost in this inscription, but line 16 refers to the sons, apparently of Hastibhōja, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna, mentioned in l. 10, and Varāhadēva was probably one of them.

⁹ This place is identical with Bāsim, see above, p. 140.

¹⁰ Vincent Smith places the marriage of Rudrasēna II with Prabhāvatiguptā at the time of Chandragupta II's invasion against the Śaka satraps of Gujarāt and Surāshṭra 'somewhere about A. D. 395'. *J. R. A. S.* for 1914, pp. 325 ff.

¹¹ According to the *Purāṇas* Vindhyaśakti ruled (or, perhaps lived) for 96 years and Pravarasēna I for 60 years.

covered about a century. We may therefore place Harishēṇa, the last of them, about A. D. 475-500.

The present grant is thus the earliest copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭakas. In its Prākṛit portion it has several expressions which in their Sanskrit form were already known from the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā and Pravarasēna II. It is noteworthy that most of them find mention in the Mayidavolu and Hirahaḍagalli grants of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman as will be seen from the following table¹ :—

No.	Expression in the Bāsim plates.	No.	Corresponding expression in the Hirahaḍagalli or Mayidavolu plates ² .
1	āpuṇo vijaya-vejayike āyu-bala-vaddhanike	1	appapa kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vadhanike vijayavejayike (H.)
2	a-raṭṭha-saṁvinayika	2	a-raṭṭha-saṁvinayikam (H.)
3	a-lavaṇa-koṇṇa-kkhanaka	3	a-loṇa-gula-chchhobham (H.)
4	a-puppha-kkhira-ggahaṇa	4	a-dūḍha-dadhi-gahaṇam (H.)
5	a-parampara-go-balivardda	5	a-pārampara-balivadda-gahaṇam (H.)
6	a-chāra-siddhika a-chamm-aṅgālika	6	a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gahaṇam (H.)
7	a-bhaḍa-ppāvesa	7	a-bhaḍa-papesam (M.)
8	a-khaṭṭa-chollaka-veṇesika	8	a-kara-yollaka-vinesi-khaṭṭa-vāsam (H.)
9	sāvva-jāti-parihāra-parihitam	9	sava-parihārehi parihārīto (M.)

The close similarity in many of these expressions is very striking. It shows that the drafter of the Vākāṭaka grant has borrowed the expressions from some earlier Pallava grant. Besides these, we may notice the following points of similarity between the records of the Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas : (1) Vākāṭaka grants, when complete, begin with *dīṣṭam* which corresponds to *dīḥam* seen on the outer side of the first plate of both the Mayidavolu and Hirahaḍagalli grants. (2) The Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā³ begin like the Pallava Sanskrit grants with the words *Jitam Bhagavatā*. (3) A number of Vedic sacrifices are enumerated in the beginning of both the Vākāṭaka and early Pallava grants. (4) The words *ājñā svayam* at the end of the Tirōḍi plates recall similar expressions *sayam=āṇatam* and *āṇati saya ti dattā* at the close of the Hirahaḍagalli and Mayidavolu plates respectively.

These similarities are surely not accidental. As the rule of the Pallavas never extended to the Central Provinces and Berār, we cannot explain them as due to the employment, by the Vākāṭakas, of the clerks who were previously in the Secretariat of the Pallavas. The striking similarities in several expressions pointed out above clearly presuppose some connection of the Vākāṭakas with the Pallavas and this is corroborated by the discovery of an inscription of a Vākāṭaka householder on a pillar at Amarāvati in the Āndhra country.⁴ That the rule of the

¹ The similarities between the Sanskrit expressions in the Vākāṭaka grants and the Prākṛit grants of the Pallavas have been noticed before. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 14, n. 1, and *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, pp. 22 ff.

² The expressions taken from the Hirahaḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 5 ff.) are shown as (H) and those from the Mayidavolu plates (above, Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.) as (M).

³ *J. A. S. B.*, (N. S.), Vol. XX, p. 58.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, p. 267.

Pallavas extended to the Āndhra country in the north is well known; for the Mayidavolu plates record the grant of a village in the *Āmḍhāpatha* (*Āndhra-patha*) to two Brāhmaṇas. Mere discovery of a pilgrim record at a holy place is, of course, no clear evidence that the pilgrim was a resident of that or even of a neighbouring country, but in conjunction with close similarity in a number of technical expressions such as is noticed nowhere else,¹ it may be taken to point to some sort of connection between the two royal houses. **We shall not therefore be wrong in supposing that the Vākātakas had their original home in the South.**

This conclusion is again corroborated by the findspots of Vākātaka inscriptions. The earliest known inscription of the Vākātakas has been discovered at Deotek in the Chāndā District. It records the construction of a *dharmasthāna* by Rudrasēna who, on the evidence of palaeography, has been identified with Rudrasēna I.² Besides the present plates, several copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēṇa II have been discovered in different parts of the Central Provinces and Berār. The only records connected with the Vākātaka dynasty which have been discovered in the regions to the north of the Narmadā are the Nachnā³ and Ganj⁴ inscriptions of Vyāghradēva, a feudatory of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēṇa. As Prof. Dubreuil and Rao Bahadur Dikshit have shown, he must be identified with Prithivishēṇa II on the evidence of palaeography. Vyāghradēva is, therefore, probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra who, we know, was ruling over the adjoining territory.⁵ The Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēṇa II state that the ruler of Mālwā was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna and it is not unlikely that Prithivishēṇa's own authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A. D. The Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions, therefore, do not in any way go against the foregoing conclusion about the original home of the Vākātakas.

The late Dr. Jayaswal recently advanced the theory that the Vākātakas originally hailed from Bāgāt in the Orchā State.⁶ In support of his view he has tried to show that three coins discovered at Kosam and another place in North India were issued by Pravarasēna I, Rudrasēna I and Prithivishēṇa I.⁷ The first two, according to him, bear the dates 76 and 100 respectively which he refers to the era of A. D. 248. This era, though called by the name of the Chēdi or Kalachuri era, was, according to Jayaswal, really started by the Vākātakas. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on the coins are extremely doubtful.⁸ Besides, his theory that the Chēdi era was really founded by the Vākātakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākātakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years. According to the *Purāṇas* Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra, who has been rightly identified with Pravarasēna I, ruled at two places Purikā and Chanakā.⁹ Jayaswal's identification of Chanakā with Nachnā

¹ Two of these expressions occur in some inscriptions (e.g., Nāsik, inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4) of the Sātavāhanas from which the Pallavas had evidently taken them. That the Āndhra country had been ruled by the Sātavāhanas before it came under the rule of the Pallavas is well known.

² *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

⁶ *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 67.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

⁸ Dr. A. S. Altekar has shown that the alleged coin of Rudrasēna has no traces of the letters *Rudra*, but a symbol which looks like a trident or *tridāna*. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. II, Num. - Suppl. No. XLVI, p. 29.

⁹ We adopt the reading suggested by Jayaswal, *Bhōkshyanti cha samāś śhaśhīm Purikām Chanakām cha vai*. See *History of India*, etc., p. 16.

cannot be accepted in the absence of corroborative proof. As for Purikā, it was situated according to the *Harivamśa*¹ at the foot of the Rikshavat (modern Sātpurā) mountain and, therefore, in the Central Provinces or Berār. Vindhyaśakti, the first ancestor of the Vākātakas, may have been so called because he extended his power to the foot of the Vindhya mountain in the north. There is thus no valid argument against our view that the Vākātakas had their original home in the South.²

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [1*] दृष्टम् [1*] वत्समुत्पादधर्ममहाराजस्या⁵ग्निष्टोमाधीर्यामवाजपेयज्योति-
- 2 ष्टोमबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क(स्त्र)चतुरश्वमेधयाजिनसस्रज्जाज(जो) वृ-
- 3 णिवृद्ध⁶सगोचस्य हरितीपुत्रस्य श्रीप्रवरसेनपौत्रस्य⁷
- 4 धर्ममहाराजस्य श्रीसर्वसेनपुत्रस्य⁸ धर्ममहाराजस्य
- 5 ⁹वाकाटकानां ¹⁰ शि(श्री)विम्व्यशक्तेर्वचनात् [1*] नाम्दीकडस ¹¹उत्तरमगे

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 ताकालक्खीप्पकाग्भासे आकासपद्देसु अम्हसन्तका साव्वायोगणि-
- 7 युत्ता आणत्ति¹²भडा सेसा य साच्चरन्तर(कु)लपुत्ता¹³ भाणितव्वा [1*] आत्तेहिं
- 8 ¹⁴दाणि¹⁵ आपुणी¹⁶ विजयवेजयिके आयुवलवद्वणिके¹⁷ खस्ति-

¹ *Vishnuparvan*, *adhyāya* 38, vv. 21-22.

² The *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas* no doubt mention Vindhyaśakti (I) and Pravira at the end of the section about the kings of Vidiśā, but that is probably because like the Āndhras they had extended their power to North India.

³ From ink-impressions. We have derived some help from Dr. D. C. Sircar's transcript of the plates which appeared in the *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 112 ff. while this article was going through the press.

⁴ This word is written in the margin on a level with l. 3.

⁵ The mark denoting the length of this vowel is faint.

⁶ Other Vākātika plates name this *gōtra* as *Vishnuvridha*. See, e.g., above, Vol. XXIII, p. 85.

⁷ Read श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य. See above, p. 142.

⁸ Read श्रीसर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य.

⁹ Opposite this line in the margin there is a mark for 1, denoting the number of the plate.

¹⁰ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹¹ The engraver first incised *dā* which he afterwards altered to *u*.

¹² *Anatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is the same as *Dātaka* who was to see to the execution of the royal order.

¹³ Compare *ājñā-saṅchāri-kulaputr-ādhikṛitāḥ* in the Sanskrit grants of the Vākātakas. See, e.g., above, Vol. XXII, p. 172.

¹⁴ In the margin on the left there is a sign for 2, denoting the number of this plate.

¹⁵ Hēmachandra (VIII, 1, 29; IV, 277) gives both *dāni* and *dāṇim* in the Śaurasēṇi. *Dāṇi* occurs in the Hīrahadagalli plates also (above, Vol. I, p. 5).

¹⁶ Prākṛit grammarians give *appanō* as the correct form in the Mahārāshṭrī, see Vararuchi, v. 46 (Bhāmaha's commentary); Hēmachandra VIII, 3, 56.

¹⁷ Hultzsch takes similar expressions which occur in lines 5-6 of the Mayidavolu plates as Māgadhī nomina-tives. We would prefer to take them as locative singular forms, denoting purpose. In the Hīrahadagalli and British Museum plates, the gerund *kātina* or *kātūnam* follows -*vaddhanīyam* or *vaddhanīye*.

- 9 शान्तिवाचने¹ इहामुक्तिके धाम्न्याणि एत्यङ्गामे आधिष्णिक²चर-
 10 णस्स आइक ।³ भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसिं जिवुज्जेसिं कपिञ्चल-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 सगोत्तेसिं⁴ । रुहज्जेसि । आविष्ठायण⁵सगोत्तेसि । भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि
 12 कीसि[क]सगोत्तेसि । देअज्जेसि । कीसिकसगोत्तेसिं । वेणहुज्जेसि ।
 13 कीसी(सि)कसगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैप्पलादिसगोत्तेसि । पितु-
 14 जेसि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि चान्दजेसि कीसिकसगोत्ते(त्ते)सि जेठुजे-
 15 सि । पदे(टे ?)हि दोहि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि बुद्धजेसि कीसिकसगोत्तेसि ।

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 भाट्टिलज्जेसि । कीसिकसगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कीसिकसगोत्तेसि
 17 हरिणज्जेसि एताण⁶ वान्दणाण भागा तिण्णा⁷ ३ कीसिकसगोत्तेसि
 18 रेवतिजेसि । भागो १ चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिच्चलिकी अपुव्वद-
 19 तीय दत्ती । पुव्वरायाणुमते य से⁸ चातुव्वेज्जग्गाममज्जाता⁹परिहार वित-
 20 राम ।¹¹ तं जया अरट्ठसंख्खियिक । अलवणकेण¹²कवनक । अहिरणधाण-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 पणयपदेय । अपुष्फक्खिरग्गहण¹³ । अपरम्परगोवलिवट्टे [1]

¹ Such an expression does not occur in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākātakas.

² The softening of *th* into *dh* is characteristic of the Śaurasēnī. See also *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, *parihāvattha* and *parihārāpedha* in ll. 25—26 below.

³ The signs of punctuation in lines 10—18 are superfluous.

⁴ The *anusvāra* on *si* is very faint, but it is there.

⁵ The *gōtra* Śrāviṣṭha or Śrāviṣṭhāyana is not mentioned in the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, but the Sangoli grant of the Kadamba king Harivarman (above, Vol. XIV, p. 167) names some Brāhmaṇas of the Śrāviṣṭha *gōtra* and it is noteworthy that like the donees of the present grant, they all belonged to the Atharva-vēda.

⁶ The Hirahadagalli plates (l. 27) have *etesi bamhanāyāni*.

⁷ The correct form is *tiṇṇi* in all genders. See Vararuchi, IV, 56.

⁸ In the margin on the left, on a level with this line, there is a sign for 3, denoting the number of this plate.

⁹ This is genitive singular of *tad*, *ibid.*, VI, 11.

¹⁰ This form of the word (with the hardening of *d* into *t*) occurs in line 45 of the Hirahadagalli plates. According to Prākṛit grammarians this is a characteristic of the Paisācī dialect.

¹¹ The marks of punctuation in lines 20—27 are superfluous.

¹² This seems to correspond to *krēni* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākātakas. See l. 32 of the Paṭṭan plates, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

¹³ The curve on *ga* seems to have been cancelled.

BASIM PLATES OF VAKATAKA VINDHYASAKTI II.

i.

2 2
4 4

Basim plate i. contains four lines of inscription in Vakataka script. The text is written in a cursive style on a dark, rectangular plate. The first line is partially obscured by a hole. The second line is also partially obscured by a hole. The third and fourth lines are clearly visible.

ii, a.

6 6
8 8
10 10

Basim plate ii, a. contains four lines of inscription in Vakataka script. The text is written in a cursive style on a dark, rectangular plate. The first line is partially obscured by a hole. The second line is also partially obscured by a hole. The third and fourth lines are clearly visible.

ii, b.

12 12
14 14

Basim plate ii, b. contains four lines of inscription in Vakataka script. The text is written in a cursive style on a dark, rectangular plate. The first line is partially obscured by a hole. The second line is also partially obscured by a hole. The third and fourth lines are clearly visible.

iii, a.

16 16
18 18
20 20

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in four lines, with a circular hole visible on the left side.

iii, b.

22 22
24 24

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in four lines, with a circular hole visible on the left side.

iv.

26 26
28 28
30 30

Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in four lines, with a circular hole visible on the left side.

- 22 अचारसिद्धिक । अच¹समङ्गालिक । अभडप्यावेस अखट्टाचोत्तकवेण-
- 23 सिक । अकरद । अवह । सणिधि । सोपणिधि । सकुतुप्यन्त² ।
- 24 समञ्चमहाकरण । साव्वजातिपरिहारपरिहितञ्च [1*] जतो उपरिलि-
- 25 खित । शासण³ चादम्प(म्य ?)माण⁴ करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापिध य परिहरध

Fourth Plate.

- 26 परिहरापेध य [1*] जो वु आवाधं करेज्ज कतव्व अनुमण्णति⁵
- 27 तिस्र⁶ एतेहि । उपरिलिखितेहिं । ब्राह्मणेहिं । परिकुपिते⁷ स[द]ण्ड-
- 28 ⁸निग्रह करेज्जामेत्ति [1*] साव्वच्छरं ३० ७ हिमन्ता(न्त)पक्खं पढमं
- 29 [दि]व[स] ४ समुपासथि⁹ लिखितमिमं शास[नं] सेणापतिणा
- 30 वण्डुण¹⁰ इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ — ॥¹¹

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1--5) Success! Seen¹². From Vatsagulma¹³—. By the order of the *Dharmamahārāja*,¹⁴ the illustrious **Vindhyasakti (II)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, (*who is*) the son of the *Dharmamahārāja*, the illustrious **Sarvasēna** (*and*) grandson of the *Dharmamahārāja*,¹⁵ the illustrious

¹ The engraver at first incised *da* which he later changed to *cha*.

² This corresponds to *sa-kṛipt-ōpakṛipta* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas. See above Vol. XXII, p. 173 and Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

³ The *anusvāra* on *ṇa* is very faint in the impression.

⁴ [The reading seems to be *śāsana-vādam-pamāṇam karettā*, Skt. *śāsana-vādam pramāṇam krīvā*.—B. C. C.]

⁵ One letter after *ma* has been cancelled.

⁶ Read *tassa*.

⁷ Read *parikupitēhi veditassa*. Compare Vol. XXII, p. 173 and Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

⁸ In the margin on the left, almost on a level with this line, there is a symbol for 4, denoting the number of the plate.

⁹ The last three *akṣaras* of this word are incised over others which have been cancelled.

¹⁰ Read *Vaṇḍuṇā*.

¹¹ There is an ornamental symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

¹² That is, this engraved charter has been seen and approved. This word is absent in unfinished charters. See above Vol. XXII, p. 168.

¹³ That is, this charter was issued from Vatsagulma.

¹⁴ Fleet translated this epithet as 'pious' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 34 ff.) and Kiellhorn as 'law-abiding' (above, Vol. III, p. 144). The intended meaning in Brahmanical records must have been 'Defender of the Vedic religion' (*dharma-rakṣakō mahārājah*). The expression *Kali-yuga-dōsh-ārasanna-dharm-ōddharana-nitya-sanna-dha* which is applied to Pallava kings in later Sanskrit charters conveys the same idea.

¹⁵ For the construction, see the discussion above, pp. 141-2.

Pravarasēna (I), the *Samrāt* and the son (i.e., a descendant) of Hārītī,¹ (who was) of the Vṛṣṇividdha *gōtra* and who performed Agnishtōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtishthōma, Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas²—

(Ll. 5—7) The *Ājñapti*³ and soldiers who are employed by us in all departments⁴ as well as other touring (officials) of noble birth in (the village) *Ākāsapadda* (which is situated) near Tākālakkhoppaka on the northern road from Nāndikaḍa should be caused to be addressed (as follows)—

(Ll. 7—19) For Our victory (in war)⁵, for the increase of (Our) life and power, for invoking blessings and peace (for Us) and for religious merit in this and the next world, We have now granted this village to (the following members of) the *Ātharvaṇika charaṇa*⁶ in this village as a new gift which is to be enjoyed as long as the moon and the sun will endure, (in the following proportion, viz.,) three parts, (in figure) 3, (of it) to these (following) Brāhmaṇas—half (a share)⁷ (being given) to Jivujja (Jivārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Ruddajja (Rudrārya) of the Kapinjala *gōtra*, to Bhāṭṭidevajja (Bhartṛidēvārya) of the Śrāviṣṭhāyana *gōtra*, to Deaja (Dēvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Venhujja (Viṣṇvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Vidhijja (Vidhyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Pituja (Pitryārya) of the Paippalādi *gōtra*, to Chāndaja (Chandrārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, (and) to Jeṭṭhaja (Jyēṣṭhārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*; (and) two shares (being given) to Buddhaja (Buddhārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Bhāddilajja (Bhadrilārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Sivajja (Śivārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, (and) to Harinṇaja (Hirāṇyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*—and the fourth part, (in figure) 1, to Revatija (Rēvatyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*.

(Ll. 19—24) And we grant the following exemptions from restrictions for it (which are) incident to a village belonging to Brāhmaṇas proficient in the four Vēdas, as approved by the former kings, viz., it is to be exempt from (the entrance of) the District Police;⁸ it is to be exempt from the purchase and digging of salt; it is to be exempt from the presents⁹ of gold and grain; it does not entitle (the State) to (the royalties on) flowers and milk¹⁰, (and) to the customary cows

¹ Hārītī was a sage from whom the Kadambas and the Chālukyas also traced their descent. See, e.g., the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 31 and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgalēśa, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 16.

² This record mentions Jyōtishthōma in place of Ukthya, Shōḍaśin and Atirātra which are mentioned in other Vākātaka records among the sacrifices performed by Pravarasēna I.

³ *Ājñatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is mentioned at the close of many records and corresponds to the *Dūtaka* who also figures in other inscriptions in the same capacity. He was entrusted with the execution of the royal order.

⁴ The usual expression in other Vākātaka records is *Sarv-ādhyakṣa-niyōga-niyuktāḥ* 'who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent.'

⁵ In other Vākātaka records *vaijayikē* qualifies *dharma-sthānē* and the whole expression means 'at our victorious place of religious worship'. The Deotek stone inscription mentions a *dharma-sthāna* of the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna I.

⁶ That is, of the *Atharvavēda*.

⁷ See above, p. 139, n. 9.

⁸ We follow Senart in the explanation of *a-raṭṭha-saṁvinayika*, see above, Vol. VII, pp. 65-66.

⁹ *Pranaya* seems to mean a customary present or *nazarānā* offered to the king. See *pranaya-kriyā* in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

¹⁰ These were taxes in kind paid to the State, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 175.

and bullocks¹; it is not to provide pasture, hides and charcoal²; it is not to be entered by soldiers; it is not to provide cots, water-pots³ and servants; it is exempt from taxes; it is not to provide horses⁴; it carries with it the right to treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes⁵ and to platforms and important documents⁶(?); and it is to be exempted with immunities of all kinds.

(Ll. 24—28) Wherefore, you protect it, cause it to be protected, exempt it and cause it to be exempted, not repressing the order written above⁷.

Whoever will cause trouble or approve of it when caused, upon him, when complained against by the aforementioned Brāhmaṇas who have taken offence, we will inflict punishment together with a fine.

(Ll. 28—30) In the year 30 (and) 7, in the first fortnight of winter, the day 4. In Our presence⁸, this order has been written by the *Sēnūpati* Vaṇhu (Vishṇu).

May there be success!

NO. 21.—KOTHURAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR.

The existence of these plates was brought to my notice by my friend and former student Dr. W. S. Barlinge who had seen them when they were brought to Nagpur in March 1940. At my request Mr. W. V. Grigson, I. C. S., Joint Secretary to Government, Central Provinces and Berar, very kindly caused a search for them to be instituted. They were ultimately traced by Mr. V. H. Mujumdar, Naib Tahsildar of Hūnganghāt, at the instance of Mr. B. A. Smellie, Deputy Commissioner of Wardhā. They were found in the possession of Mr. Baburao Madhavrao Athole, Mokasdar of Jāmb, a village about 7 miles north by east of

¹ The expression *a-prampara-gō-balivardda* in l. 21 corresponds to *a-pāraṃpara-balivadda-gaṇanam* of the Hirahadagalli plates and *a-parampara-baliva[dam]* of the Mayidavōlu plates. These latter expressions have been taken to denote 'exemption from the obligation of furnishing by turns draught cattle for the progress of royal officers'. In former times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to supply means of transport for the touring of royal officers. Sometimes, a small tax, called *prayāṇa-danda* was levied for the purpose. See *Rāja-sēvakānām vasati-danda-prayāṇa-dandau na staḥ* in the Paithāṇ grant of Rāmachandra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 318. But the use of the word *gō* in addition to *balivardda* in Vākāṭaka grants rather indicates that the village was exempted from the obligation of giving to the State the first calf—male or female—of every cow in the village. The *Manusmṛiti* (*adhyāya* VII, v. 130) also mentions a tax on cattle.

² This and similar expressions which follow exempt the donee from the obligation of supplying grass for feeding horses, hides (which were used as seats, cf. *āsana-charman* in the grants of Pravarasēna II), charcoal for cooking, cots, water-pots, servants and draught cattle, for the royal officers when they were encamped in the village during their tours.

³ *Chōllaka* is plainly identical with *chōlaka* in the Mayidavōlu plates and *yollaka* in the Hirahadagalli plates. Hultzsch derives *chōllaka* from *chullakī*, a kind of water-pot. *Venesika* corresponds to *vināsi* in the Mayidavōlu and *vināsi* in the Hirahadagalli plates. This word is omitted in the translations of Bühler and Hultzsch. We derive it from the Sanskrit *vaināsika* which the dictionaries give in the sense of 'a slave, a dependent, or a subject.' The obligation to provide servants for touring officers is perhaps meant here.

⁴ Lexicons give *vaha* in the sense of a horse.

⁵ See above, Vol. XXII, p. 175.

⁶ We are not certain about the meaning of this expression.

⁷ [Or 'abiding by the order written above'. *Sāsana-vāda* here and *vachana* in l. 5 above imply the same thing. See p. 153, n. 4.—B. C. C.]

⁸ This corresponds to *ājñā svayam* 'Our own order' in the Tirōḍi plates. Cf. *sayam=āṇatam* and *āṇati sayatti dattā* in the Hirahadagalli and Mayidavōlu plates respectively.

Hinganghāt, in the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Wardhā District. In November 1940 the plates were sent to the Nagpur Museum where they were cleaned by Mr. M. A. Suboor, Coin Expert of the Museum. For the excellent facsimiles which accompany this article I am obliged to Mr. Suboor who copied the plates at the Government Press, Nagpur. I have also to thank Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Nagpur Museum, for his kind help in discovering this interesting record.

The **copper-plates** are **four** in number, each measuring 8" by 4.11". The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only and the remaining two on both the sides. When the plates reached the Nagpur Museum, they were held together by a ring, but its ends were neither joined by a pin nor soldered. The seal which it must have carried is not forthcoming now. All the plates are in a good state of preservation, and there is consequently no uncertainty in the reading anywhere. The weight of the four plates is 185½ *tolas* and that of the ring is 16 *tolas*.

The record consists of 36 lines, six being written on each inscribed face of the four plates. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and resemble those of the other grants of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. The following peculiarities may be noted: the box is in some cases fixed to the back of *j*, instead of being added at the top, see *mahārāja-* in ll. 7 and 8; in some other cases the box is not added at all, see *mahārāja-* in l. 14; the sign of the *upadhmānīya* which occurs in ll. 13, 15 and 33 has in all cases a box at the top which is not noticed in other records; final *m* which is written in a smaller size has a box-head in *siddham*, but not in *drishṭam*, both in l. 1; the *anusvāra* is shown by a crescent and the medial *au* is bipartite everywhere; *kh* is without a loop at the bottom¹ in both the places where it occurs, see *khanaka-*, l. 27 and *likhita*, l. 36; the lingual *ḍ* is distinguished from the dental *ḍ* in *daṇḍa*, l. 11, but not in *Maṇḍuki-*, l. 18 and *Kaṇḍīya*, l. 19; the subscript *t* is, in some cases, looped, but as in the Bēlorā plates² the loop is elongated in order to distinguish it from *n*, see *bhaktasya*, l. 4 and *vr̥ttēr-*, l. 12; finally, single and double dots are used here and there to denote punctuation which is redundant in most cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for an imprecatory verse in ll. 34-35, the record is in prose throughout. Like other Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions it contains some mistakes of grammar and orthography which are corrected in the subjoined text and the foot-notes added to it. As regards **orthography**, we find that consonants are reduplicated before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, l. 5 and *mūrdh-*, l. 6; *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Bhāgīratthy-*, l. 6 and *visarga* before *p* is changed to *upadhmānīya* in ll. 13, 15 and 33.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present record opens with the word *drishṭam* 'seen'. The plates were issued by **Pravarasēna II** of the Vākāṭaka dynasty from **Nandivardhana**. His genealogy is traced here exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather **Chandragupta II** being called **Dēvagupta**. It may, however, be noted that the present plates spell some proper names somewhat differently from other Vākāṭaka records discovered so far. The medial *i* of *tī* in *Prabhāvatiguptā*, for instance, is invariably short in all the records discovered till now and the shortening can be justified by a grammatical rule,³ but the present plates read in l. 15 *Prabhāvatiguptā* quite clearly. Similarly *vī* in *Prithivishēṇa* has a long medial vowel here, whereas it is usually short in other records.⁴

¹ In other grants of Pravarasēna II, *kh* has a loop at the bottom, see, e.g., *likhitam* in l. 35 of the Siwani plates, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXV; but it is noteworthy that in the Chammak plates issued in the same regnal year it is unlooped, see *khanaka-*, l. 23, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXIV.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 260.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 42, n. 10. See Pāṇini, VI, 3, 63.

⁴ In the Bēlorā plates (Set A) the medial *i* of *vī* is long as here. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 264.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village *Kōthuraka* which was situated in the territorial division (*āhāra*) of *Supratishtha*. The village lay to the west of the *Umā* river, to the north of *Chīnchāpalli*, to the east of *Bōnthikavāṭaka* and to the south of *Maṇḍukigrāma*. The donee was the celibate *Brāhmaṇa* *Kāluṭṭaka* who belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya gōtra* and the *Taittirīya śākhā* of the *Black Yajurveda*. The grant was made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayikē dharma-sthūnē*)¹ and is dated on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Āśvina* in the second regnal year. The *dātaka* was *Chakradēva* and the scribe *Nāgavarman*. Neither of these is known from any other *Vākāṭaka* grant.

The grant recorded on the *Bēlorā* plates (Set B), discovered two years ago, was so far the earliest one of *Pravarasēna II*, being dated in his eleventh regnal year. The present grant is still earlier, as it was made in the second year after his accession. It has fully confirmed some of the conclusions drawn from the *Bēlorā* plates. **There is now no doubt that Pravarasēna II was different from Divākarasēna**, the *Yuvarāja*, for whom his mother *Prabhāvatīguptā* was acting as a regent even in the thirteenth year after his accession as a boy-prince.² Again, like the *Poona* plates of *Prabhāvatīguptā*³ and the *Bēlorā* plates (Set A) of *Pravarasēna II*, the present plates also were issued from *Nandivardhana*. This place was, therefore, undoubtedly the earlier capital of the *Vākāṭakas* before the foundation of *Pravarapura* by *Pravarasēna II*. As these plates were issued in the beginning of *Pravarasēna*'s reign, they do not enable us to state when the capital was shifted to *Pravarapura*.

The donee of the present plates is called *gaṇa-yājīn*. It may therefore be conjectured that the grant was made on the occasion of a *gaṇa-yāga* at which he officiated as a priest. The term *gaṇa-yāga* can, however, be variously interpreted. It may mean a sacrifice performed for a *gaṇa* or guild. Such sacrifices performed for a multitude of men were, however, discouraged in ancient times. Both *Manu* and *Vishṇu* regard the *Brāhmaṇas* who officiated at such sacrifices as unfit for invitation to a *śrāddha*.⁴ As the present grant was made by a king and not by a guild, this meaning of *gaṇa-yāga* is evidently inapplicable here. The *Vāchaspatya* explains *gaṇayajña* as a sacrifice performed by a number of brothers and sisters and cites *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* 22, 11, 12 and 25, 13, 29 in support of this interpretation. But this explanation also is unlikely in the present case. The *Manusmṛiti* (III, 164) enjoins that the priest who offers sacrifices to *Gaṇas* should be avoided at a *śrāddha*. The expression *gaṇānām yājakaḥ* is variously taken by the commentators of *Manu*. *Nārāyaṇa* and *Nandana* take it to mean one who sacrifices for *gaṇas*, i.e., many persons or guilds, but such persons are already excluded by *Manusmṛiti* III, 151. Other commentators including *Mēdhātithi* and *Kullūka* think that *Vināyaka*- or *Gaṇēśa-hōma* may be meant by *gaṇa-yāga*. The *Mānava-Grihyasūtra* (II, 14) and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (I, 271 ff.) mention almost in identical terms a rite for the

¹ I have pointed out before that this expression invariably occurs in the grants of *Pravarasēna II*, which were made at the capital. See above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

² See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 262.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. Both the *Poona* and the *Bēlorā* plates spell the name of this place as *Nāndivardhana* with a long medial vowel in *nā* which led Dr. Randle to think that the place might be different from the *Nandivardhana* mentioned in the *Rithapur* plates of the *Nala* king *Bhavādattavarman* (above, Vol. XIX, p. 102). See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 177. The place-name is spelt here exactly as in *Bhavādattavarman*'s plates.

⁴ *Manusmṛiti*, III, 151; *Vishṇusmṛiti*, LXXXII, 8-9. A passage from the *Yamasmṛiti* cited in the *Parāśara-Dharmasamhitā* (Bom. Sanskrit Series, No. XLVIII, p. 358) mentions *śrēṣṭhi-yājaka-yājakaḥ* in the same context.

propitiation of Vināyakas,¹ but it is not known if the priest who performed the rite incurred any guilt. Dr. Bühler's suggestion,² therefore, that the reference in *Manusmṛiti* III, 164, may be to the *gaṇa-hōmas* mentioned by *Bauddhāyana-Dharmasūtra* appears to be preferable. Bauddhāyana lays down the following procedure for the performance of the *gaṇa-hōmas*.³ A person who has purified himself by certain restraints should after fasting for three days and nights commence the performance of the sacred rite, making offerings of boiled rice and clarified butter and reciting certain *mantras* in the morning, at midday and in the evening. At the end of one week during which these *hōmas* are continued, he should feed Brāhmaṇas, and distribute to them cows, land, sesamum and gold. These *gaṇa-hōmas* are to be performed by a person for himself. A Brāhmaṇa is, however, allowed to perform the rite for his teacher, father and mother, but for none else. If he performs it for others through greed, he is tainted by sin and perishes like one who has swallowed poison. Bauddhāyana, however, says later on (IV, 8, 10) that 'through a desire of removing one's guilt one may cause these oblations to be offered by men who have been engaged for money in case one is unable to do it; a man need not torment himself.' This means, as explained by the commentator Gōvindasvāmin, that the wealthy man who engages a priest for the performance of the rite will be freed from sin, but the latter will be tainted by guilt.⁴ This explains why the priests who performed *gaṇa-hōmas* for others out of greed were avoided at a *śrāddha*. Naturally few people must have come forward to do the rite and those who did it received a high reward. The case is analogous to that of the first annual *śrāddha* in honour of a dead person or to that of a *śrāddha* at an eclipse.⁵ The donee of the present plates seems to have performed such a *gaṇa-hōma* for Pravaraśeṇa II from whom he received a village as his sacrificial fee.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nandivardhana has already been identified with Nagardhan or Nandardhan near Rāmtek in the Nāgpur District. Kōthuraka, the donated village, cannot now be traced. Its site seems to be occupied by Mangaon on the right bank of the Wunnā, about 2½ miles north by west of Jāmb, since all the boundary villages mentioned in the present plates can be identified in its vicinity in their respective directions. Thus Chiñchāpalli is Chicholi which also is situated on the right bank of the same river Wunnā, half a mile to the south of Mangaon; Bōnthikavāṭaka is now called Bōthaḍ and Maṇḍukigrāma, Māṇḍgaon, about 3½ miles to the north by west and 2 miles to the north respectively from Mangaon. The Wardhā District Gazetteer records a tradition that Māṇḍgaon is named after one Māṇḍo Ṛishi who is said to have done penance on the Wunnā river.⁵ The present grant, however, shows that the ancient name of the place was Maṇḍukigrāma. The identification of these three boundaries shows that the Umā river which formed the eastern boundary of the donated village is none other than the Wunnā. No place exactly corresponding to Supratishṭha, the headquarters of the āhāra in which these villages were situated, can now be traced, but it seems to have comprised roughly the territory now included in the Hingāghāṭ taluk. This āhāra was already known from the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, but no clue to its identification was so far available. It is now furnished by the present plates

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc.*, pp. 147 ff. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, adhyāya II (Sudhākar Dwivedi's ed., Vol. I, p. 91) also mentions *gaṇa-yāgas* which the commentator Bhaṭṭotpala explains as *guhāyaka-pūjana*, the worship of the demigods called *guhāyakas*.

² See his *Laws of Manu*, S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 106.

³ *Bauddhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, Praśna IV, adhyāyas 7 and 8. See Bühler's translation in S. B. E., Vol. XIV, pp. 329 ff.

⁴ See Gōvindasvāmin's commentary on *Bauddhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 8, 9.

⁵ *Wardhā District Gazetteer*, (1906), p. 250.

which show that Prabhāvātiguṇṭā's plates, though discovered in far-off Poona, originally belonged to the Hīṅgaṅghāt *tahsil*.¹ These plates record the grant of the village Daṅguṇa which was situated in the Supratishṭhāhāra and lay to the east of Vilavaṇaka, to the south of Śirshagrāma, to the west of Kadāpiṇjana and to the north of Sidivivaraka. None of these places have been identified so far. Two of them I have been able to trace in the vicinity of Hīṅgaṅghāt. Vilavaṇaka seems to be Vaṇi, about 2½ miles to the west and Kadāpiṇjana may be Kadhājan 3 miles to the south by east of Hīṅgaṅghāt. Hīṅgaṅghāt seems therefore to occupy the same position as the ancient village Daṅguṇa. The latter place-name appears to have been changed to Hīṅgaṇ in course of time, *ghāt* being added to it as it was a fording place on the Wunnā. It is noteworthy that the name of the village Kavaḍghāt on the opposite bank of the same river also ends in *ghāt*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 द्वि(ट्ट)ष्टम् [1*] सिद्धम् [1*] स्वस्त(स्ति) नन्दिवर्हना[त् 1*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामीवथ्य-
घोडस्थतिराव-
- 2 वाजपेयवृहस्य(स्य)तिसवसाद्यस्क्रचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः³ विष्णुवृद्ध-
- 3 सगोत्रस्य सम्नाट⁴ वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनो⁵
- 4 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ॥⁶ असंभार⁷सन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गो-
- 5 [द्व]हनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम् पराङ्गमाधिगतभागी-
- 6 रत्थमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां(नां) भारशिवानां

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य १⁸ वाकाट-
- 8 कानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य ॥⁸
- 9 सत्यार्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व(स्त्व)-
- 10 पात्रगतभ[क्ति]त्वधर्मविजयित्वमनोनेर्मैत्र्यादिगुणैस्समु-

¹ The coppersmith with whom the plates were found originally hailed from Ahmednagar. See above, Vol. XV, p. 39.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Here and in many places below, rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁴ Read *Samrājō*.

⁵ Read *sūnōh sūnōh*.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁷ The *anusvāra* is misplaced. Read *amśa-bhāra*.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

11 पेतस्य ॥¹ व[र्ष]शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तान-

12 पुत्रपौत्रिण[ः] युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीपृथिवी-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 सेनस्य² सूनोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणिप्रसादा(दो)पार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य

14 महाराजश्री(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-

15 सुताय(यां) प्रभावतीगुप्ताय(या)मुत्पन्नस्य ॥¹ शम्भोप्रसादधृति(त)कार्त-

16 युगस्य ।¹ वाकाटकानाम्परमसाहेश्वरमहारा[ज*]श्रीप्रवरसेन-

17 स्य वचना[त्*] । सुप्रतिष्ठाह(हा)रे ।¹ उमानद्या अपरपार्श्वे । चिंचापल्या³

18 उत्तरे पार्श्वे ।¹ बोन्धिकवाटकस्य ।¹ पूर्व पार्श्वे ।¹ मण्डुकियामस्य

Third Plate ; First Side.

19 दक्षिणे पार्श्वे ।¹ कोथुरकन्नमग्रामः कौण्डिन्यसंगोत्र ।¹ तैत्तिरिकगणयाजि-

20 कालुङ्ककन्नचारिणे दत्ताः⁵ [।*] यतोऽस्मत्सन्तकाः सर्वार्थान्नियोगनियुक्ता

21 आज्ञासंचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भट्टा⁶श्चात्राश्च विषुतपूर्व्याज्ञाज्ञापयि-

22 तव्या⁷ विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुर्बलविजयैश्वर्यवि-

23 वृद्धये इहामुत्रहितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धम्म(र्म्म)स्थाने अपूर्वद-

24 त्या(च्या) उदकपूर्वमतिष्ठः [।*] यथास्योपचिता⁸ पूर्वराजानुमताश्चातुर्वैद्य-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

25 ग्राममर्यादान्वितराम⁹स्तद्यथा अकरदायि¹⁰ अभटच्छत्र¹¹प्राविश्य[ः] अपा-

26 रम्परगोबलवर्द्ध[ः]¹² अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[ः*] अवा(चा)रासनचर्माङ्गार[ः*] अल-

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

² Read *Śrī-Prithivishēnasya*.

³ Read *Chinchāpallyā*.

⁴ Read *Taittiriya*.

⁵ Read *dattā*.

⁶ Read *bhaṭṭā* as in other Vākāṭaka grants.

⁷ Read *viśruta-pūreṣa-ājñāy-ājñāpayitavyāḥ*.

⁸ Read *śy=ūchitīm*.

⁹ Read *maryyādām vitarāmas-*.

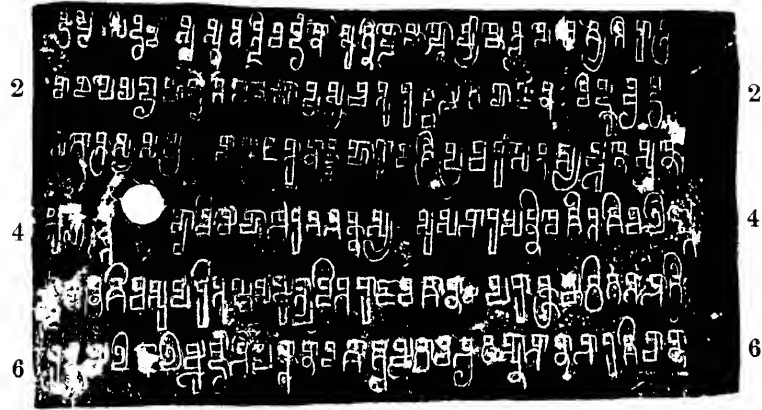
¹⁰ Read *akara-dāyī*.

¹¹ Read *-chekhātra-* as in other Vākāṭaka grants.

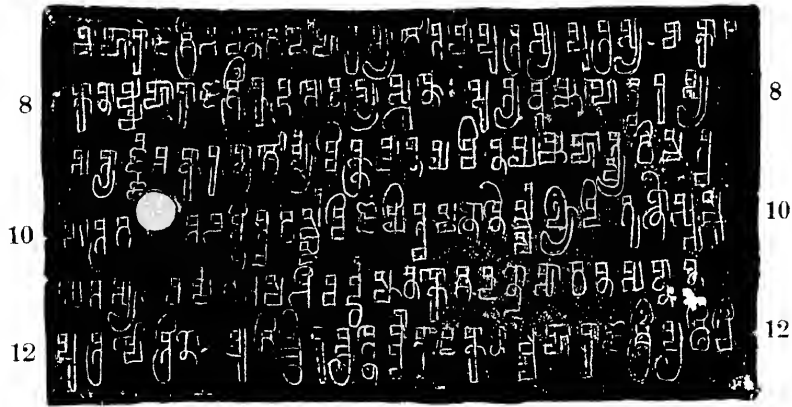
¹² Read *-balivarddh-*.

KOTHURAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

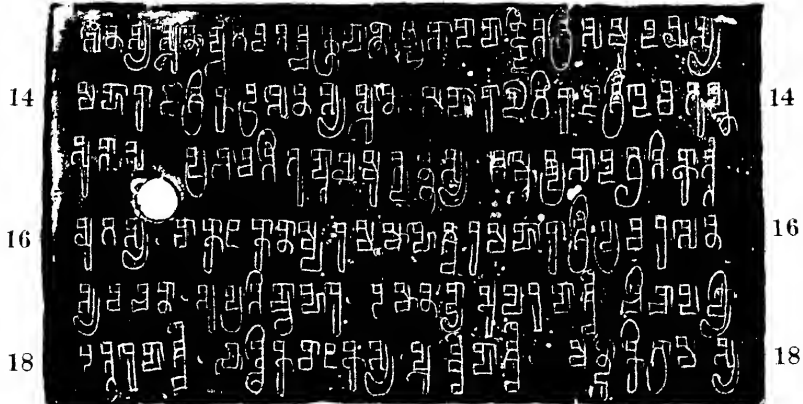
i.



ii,a.



ii,b.



iii, a.

20 20 22 24

20 22 24

iii, b.

26 28 30

26 28 30

iv.

32 34 36

32 34 36

- 27 वणक्लिबक्लेनीखनकः¹ सर्व्वेष्टिसपरिहार²परिहृतः सनिधिः
 28 सोपनिधि[:*] सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्त³[:] आचन्द्रादित्यकालि(ली)यः पुत्रपौत्रान[गा*]-
 29 मिक्कः भुञ्जता(तो) न केनचिद्दयाघातयितव्यः सर्व्वक्याभि⁴स्मरन्तितव्य[:*]
 30 परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्चा(श्च) [i*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिवाधां

Fourth Plate.

- 31 कुर्यात्कारयित वा⁵ तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्डं निग्रहं कुर्याम ॥
 32 अस्मिंश्च धर्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तां सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन⁶
 33 कृतपुण्ड्रानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयामः [i*] व्यासगि(गो)तश्चात्र श्लोक(प्रमाणो-
 34 कर्त्तव्य[:] [i*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धरा[म्*] । गवां शत-
 सहस्रस्य
 35 हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतं(तम्)⁷ । [1१॥*] संवत्सरे द्वितीये अश्वयुज⁸मासशुक्लद्वादश्या(श्यां) ।⁹
 36 चक्रदेवदूतकः¹⁰ नागवर्म्मणा लिखित[म्*] । ॥ * ॥¹¹

No. 22.—A NOTE ON THE DATES OF THREE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS.

By THE LATE MR. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

Indra III—A. D. 915-27 (?)

The Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III had the distinctive title of 'Nityavarsha', while his son Gōvinda IV had the titles of 'Prabhūtavarsha' and 'Suvarṇavarsha'. The earliest record in which this Prabhūtavarsha (*i. e.*, Gōvinda IV) figures is one from Daṇḍāpur¹² in the Bombay-Karnāṭak, which is dated in Śaka 840 (expired), Pramāthin, Makara-saṅkramaṇa, corresponding

¹ Read *-krēṇi-khanakāḥ*.

² Read *sarvva-vishṭi-parihāra*.

³ Read *sa-kṣipt-ōpakṣiptakāḥ*.

⁴ Read *sarvva-kriyābhis=*.

⁵ Read *kārayēd=vā*.

⁶ Read *-rāja-datta-saṅchintana-paripālanam*.

⁷ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ Read *Āsvayuja*.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ Read *Chakradēva-dūtakaṁ*.

¹¹ There is a floral design between these two sets of *dandas*.

¹² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 222, and B. K. No. 63 of 1933-34.

to A. D. 918, December 23, while the latest date Śaka 857 (wrong for Śaka 856), Vijaya, corresponding to A. D. 933-34 is furnished by three records¹ from Honnālī in the Mysore State. On the strength of these, Mr. Altekar has concluded² that Indra III had died in about A. D. 917 and that Gōvinda IV, who succeeded him, probably after a short rule of one year of his elder brother Amōghavarsha II, had actually reigned for about 15 years from A. D. 919 to 934.

This statement seems to require modification in the light of some other inscriptions of Indra III which have been copied from the Bellary and Cuddapah Districts of the Madras Presidency and from Bombay-Karnāṭak. One of these from Kuḍatani³ in the Bellary District is dated in Vikrama, which corresponded to Śaka [842], (=A. D. 920-21). Another from Kaḍabagere⁴ in the same district belonging to the reign of Nityavarsha Indra-Vallabha is dated in Śaka 844, Chitrabhānu, corresponding to A. D. 922, September 9. A third from Asundi⁵ in the Bombay-Karnāṭak, belonging to a Nityavarsha, bears the Śaka year 847 and the cyclic year Pārthiva (=A. D. 925-26). One other record⁶ of the same Nityavarsha from Hālaharavi in the Bellary District is stated to be dated in the same cyclic year Pārthiva, but the Śaka year appears to have been wrongly quoted therein as 854. Yet another record⁷ recently copied from Kamalāpuram in the Cuddapah District, furnishes for Nityavarsha Indra-narēndra the date Śaka 848, Pārthiva, Uttarāyana-saṅkramaṇa. The actual wording is as follows :

Svasti[*] Nityavarsha Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭārak-
ōttarōttarābhivṛddhi-pravardhamāna-vijaya-Mahārāja-rājyadoḥ=Indra-narēndrana rājyam
saluttire Pallavadhīram Muḷki-aynūruvan=āḷuttire Svasti samadhigata-paṇcha-mahāśabda
mahāsāmantam vikrānta-Rāman vikrānta-Bhīman.....Svasti Śaka-nṛipa-kālātita-saṁvatsaraṅ-
gaḥ=eṇṭunūra-nālvatt-eṇṭaneya Pārthiva-saṁvatsaram pravarṭtise tadvarsh-ābhyantar-
ōttarāyana-saṁkrāntiy-andu etc.

The full astronomical details of the date are not given, but the date may be equated to A. D. 925, December 23. From the Bombay-Karnāṭak come two records⁸ belonging to a Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha, of which one from Gadag in the Dharwar District is dated in Śaka 840, Bahudhānya, corresponding to A. D. 918, July 18. From the distinctive title 'Nityavarsha',⁹ it may be assigned to Indra III himself, for whom therefore the new title of 'Nirupama' appears to be indicated in this epigraph. If this is accepted, the other record of the same king Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha from Haleritti dated in Śaka 850, Sarvadhāri, Pushya=A. D. 927, December, may also be considered to belong to Indra III, in which case Śaka 850 will be the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hn. 21 to 23.

² *Bāhṣtrakūṣas and their Times*, p. 105.

³ No. 47 of 1904 of the Madras Epigl. collection.

⁴ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, No. 57.

⁵ B. K. No. 162 of 1926-27.

⁶ No. 540 of 1915 of the Mad. Epigl. colln. In *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 62, this record has been taken to be one of Gōvinda IV, taking the Śaka year as correct and the cyclic year Pārthiva as wrong; but the latter has been taken as correct above, the Śaka year 854 being considered as wrongly quoted instead of Śaka 847.

⁷ No. 235 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.

⁸ Nos. 184 of 1932-33 and 47 of 1933-34 of the Bombay-Karnāṭak collection.

⁹ In para. 38 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1916, it has been suggested that Nityavarsha was probably a title of Gōvinda IV, like that of his father Indra III, on the consideration that No. 540 of 1915 dated in Śaka 854, Pārthiva, could belong to the former only. Taking Pārthiva as correct and equating it to Śaka 847 and not 854, the record may be taken to belong to Indra III, for whom the Kamalāpuram inscription (No. 235 of 1937-38) furnishes the date Śaka 848, Pārthiva. There does not seem to be therefore any necessity for postulating the title of 'Nityavarsha' to Gōvinda IV, for whom the titles known are 'Prabhūtarsha' and 'Suvaravarsha' only.

latest date known so far for him. It is therefore possible that Nityavarsha Indra III, whose date of accession¹ was February 24, A. D. 915, actually reigned till at least the end of A. D. 927. He may have continued for some time longer.

Gōvinda IV (A. D. 930-34).

The Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV² dated in Śaka 852=(May 10, A. D. 930), contain an important item of information which, in the light of the facts noted above, receives a new significance. It is stated therein that when the king, having come from his capital Mānyakhēṭa, was staying at a village called Kapitthakā on the day specified, on the occasion of the *paṭṭabandha* festival, he performed the great *tulābhāra* ceremony and also made munificent donations to Brāhmins and temples. In fact his gifts to Brāhmins are stated to have been as many as 600 *agrahāras* and 3,00,000 *suvarṇas*, while those to temples aggregated to 800 villages and 4,00,000 *suvarṇas* and 32,00,000 *drammas* in coin. Even allowing for an excusable exaggeration in regard to these details, such exuberant liberality was hardly rivalled by any other Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign.

Dr. Bhandarkar who has edited these plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*³ has argued that the *paṭṭabandha* cannot refer to a royal coronation ceremony, for the reasons that Gōvinda figures in an inscription of A. D. 918, that it is unnatural to expect that the king will have gone to a village away from his capital for the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony, and that the period of 11 years from A. D. 919 to A. D. 930 is too great an interval for Gōvinda to have continued simply as an heir-apparent. In view, however, of the discovery of distinct records dated in A. D. 922 and 925, and possibly also in A. D. 927 for Indra III, as pointed out above, the event glorified in the Cambay plates may very reasonably be considered to have been the coronation of Gōvinda IV himself, the magnitude of the gifts detailed therein indicating clearly an occasion of considerable importance. It may be noted that Indra III also celebrated his *paṭṭabandha* ceremony at a village named Kurundaka, as stated in the Nausāri copper-plate grant⁴ of this king dated in A. D. 915, and that even longer terms of heir-apparency are not unknown, for to quote but one instance, the Chōla prince Rājādhirāja (A. D. 1018-53) was a crown-prince for over 26 years till A. D. 1044, before he became the reigning king. The inference seems therefore to be warranted that Indra III continued to reign as king till at least A. D. 927, and that Gōvinda IV succeeded to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne in May, A. D. 930, after a short interval of a year or so, in which his elder brother Amōghavarsha II had perhaps reigned, as indicated by the statement in the Bhadana plates⁵ of Aparājita-Śilāhāra.

In this case, one small point seems to require elucidation as to why, while an elder son was living, the younger Gōvinda should have been chosen heir-apparent in about A. D. 918, whereas Amōghavarsha's claim for succession should have been recognised only later at the time of Indra's death. It must have been this acknowledgment of the rightful claim of Amōghavarsha that appears to have incited the darker traits in Gōvinda's character; for if the sententious denials made in the Sāṅgli plates that Gōvinda 'did not act cruelly towards his elder brother' mean anything, they seem to indicate that Gōvinda may have indirectly helped in the removal of his elder brother, whose existence had barred his way to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne.

¹ Nausāri copper-plate referred to in the *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 415.

² *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27.

³ *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27, f. n. 2.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 415. According to the Bagumrā plates, Indra III performed a *tulāpurusha-dāna* at a village named Kurundaka (*ante*, Vol. IX, p. 24).

⁵ Quoted in Altekar, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

The actual reign of Gōvinda IV is thus reduced to a short period of about four years only—from May, A. D. 930 to the middle of A. D. 934. Owing to his wicked life, this king, it is stated, was very unpopular, and his ministers and feudatories¹ conspired to oust him. The Eastern Chālukya king Bhīma II claims to have defeated the army of Gōvinda IV in about the year A. D. 934²; and this defeat must have been the signal for the discontented elements at the Rāshtrakūṭa capital to flare up into activity. The result was that Gōvinda was deposed, and Amōghavarsha III, an uncle of Gōvinda in a collateral line, a religious man already well-advanced in years,³ was chosen by the feudatories to be the king. It is not definitely stated anywhere that Gōvinda died on this occasion—he may perhaps have lived some years longer; but his career as a Rāshtrakūṭa king probably ended with A. D. 934.

Kṛishṇa III (A. D. 939-67).

The records of Kṛishṇa III found in the Kannaḍa country are most of them dated in Śaka years, while his numerous Tamiḷ records in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, following apparently the procedure in vogue in the Tamiḷ districts, mention only his regnal years. However, an inscription from Pādūr⁴ in the Tirukkōyilūr Taluk of the South Arcot District is of interest in this connection, as quoting his regnal year 26, coupled with the astronomical details—Vṛiśchika, ba. 3, Wednesday, Mṛigaśirsha. Even here the omission of the Śaka and the cyclic years is unfortunate, but the English equivalent can, however, be calculated.

Now, Amōghavarsha III, the father and predecessor of Kṛishṇa III, was alive on December 3, A. D. 939.⁵ So the date of accession of Kṛishṇa III must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of this date, and his 26th year would fall in the interval between A. D. 960 and 970. On verification it is found that A. D. 964, October 26, Wednesday,⁶ and no other date in this interval, agrees so well with the given details. This being a day in the 26th regnal year of the king, the date of his accession must have been some day between October 27, A. D. 938 and October 26, A. D. 939.

As stated already, Kṛishṇa's predecessor Amōghavarsha was alive on December 3, A. D. 939. If so, how can the date of accession of his successor Kṛishṇa III be some date prior to October 27, of the same year? For this to be possible, we shall have to suppose that Kṛishṇa had been formally anointed *yuvārāja* during the last days of his father himself; and when we take into consideration the fact that Amōghavarsha III was already a man of advanced age with a deeply religious bent of mind at the time of his selection as king, there is nothing out of the ordinary in his having associated his son Kṛishṇa along with himself in the administration, and in his having actually anointed him some time prior to his own demise. A record⁷ from the Sorab Taluk of the Mysore State furnishes Śaka 861 (=A. D. 939), December 23rd, as the earliest date for Kṛishṇa III with the imperial titles. The Dēōlī plates⁸ dated approximately on 30th April A. D. 940, mention that Kṛishṇa succeeded to the throne only after Amōghavarsha's death and

¹ Among such feudatories the Chālukya chieftain Arikēśarin, the patron of the poet Pampa, was one—*Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 31.

² The Kaluchumbarru grant of Ammarāja II, *ante*, Vol. VII, p. 177.

³ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 111.

⁴ No. 281 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Isāmudra inscription dated in Śaka 861, Vikārin=A. D. 939, December 3 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 77).

⁶ According to the *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* was current till 54 and the *nakshatra* till 48 of the day. (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1936-37, p. 47).

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 476. The details are Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana, Monday=A. D. 939, December 23, Monday.

⁸ *Ante*, Vol. V, p. 188.

this statement is not in conflict with what had been said above ; for Kṛishṇa's actual coronation as 'king' must have occurred only after the death of Amōghavarsha sometime towards the end of A. D. 939, though he may have been anointed *yuvārāja* a few months earlier, and calculated the subsequent dates of his reign retrospectively from this initial date.

The two limits, namely, October 27, A.D. 938, and October 26, A. D. 939, between which the date of accession of Kṛishṇa III fell may therefore be accepted. They may, however, be narrowed down somewhat.

As Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has shown above, Vol. XXI, p. 262, Kṛishṇa must have passed away a short time prior to February, A. D. 967, (*i.e.*) towards the end of A.D. 966 or in the beginning of A. D. 967. It may therefore be inferred that the accession of Kṛishṇa III was calculated from August or September A.D. 939, though his actual coronation as 'king' took place only in December of that year, that he reigned for 27 full years and a portion of the 28th year, and that his death may have occurred in about December, A. D. 966, or January A. D. 967.¹

No. 23.—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN.

By C. C. DAS GUPTA, M.A.

This set of copper-plates was found in a village of the Badakhimedi estate in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency and was acquired, along with eight other similar sets, for the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum through Mr. S. Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi. Two of the nine sets belong to the Gaṅga king Indravarmā², one of which has already been edited by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharyya of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum³. The other I edit here, with the kind permission of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Officiating Superintendent of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This set consists of **three copper-plates**, each measuring $7'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, strung together by means of a copper-ring at their one end which was held by a **seal** of $1\frac{1}{8}''$ diameter marked with the figure of a couchant bull. Altogether they weigh 89 *tolas* including the ring. The first plate is engraved on one side only, the second and third on both their sides. The inscription consists of 40 lines, each side of the plates containing 9 lines except the last which contains only 4 lines.

¹ In a long footnote Mr. Altekar has tried to fix the period of Kṛishṇa's reign (*Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 122, 123) ; but he has taken the Kīlūr record to be dated in the 30th year (instead of 20th, as revised). He has also equated the details of the Koḷagallu record (No. 236 of 1913) to A. D. 968, February 17th, instead of A. D. 967, February 17th, as calculated in *ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 262. It may be noted that an inscription from the Mysore State (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Hoḷalkere 23) of the reign of Akālavarsha Prithivīvallabha is dated in Śaka 891, Vibhava. The astronomical details therein do not work correctly for Vibhava. Further as Kṛishṇa is stated to have died at the time of the Koḷagallu inscription (17th February, 967) the Hoḷalkere record of a later date for him is inexplicable. There seems to be some mistake either in the actual year quoted in this document, or there must have been some jumbling of the southern and northern cycles of reckoning. Records of Khottiga dated in Śaka 890, Prabhava, and Śaka 890, Vibhava, are known (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 531 and *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 50).

² *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, p. 110, F. & G. Of the nine sets of copper-plates the other eight have already been edited. (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff., pp. 78 ff., pp. 141 ff., pp. 261 ff., and Vol. XXIV, pp. 129 ff.).

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 78 ff.

The characters used in this inscription belong to the South Indian Nāgarī type and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D.¹ With regard to the formation of individual letters, it may be pointed out that *ē*, *t*, *th*, *p* and *v* have two signs each, as found in the following examples : *vishaē* (1.9) and *ētaḍ* (1.13) ; °*vataś*= (1.1) and °*nātaḥ* (1.22) ; *nātha* (1.6) and °*thivi* (1.9) ; *parama* (1.8) and *prati*° (1.28) ; °*vataś*= (1.1) and °*vāsinaḥ* (1.3). Besides *d* and *n* have three forms each, as found in the following examples : *pādā*° (1.6), *khātādī* (1.15) and *parada*° (1.28) ; *nivā*° (1.3), *nichaya* (1.4) and °*nēka* (1.7). So far as the medial vowels are concerned, *ā* has five signs as found in *Śvētkā* (1.1), *kāraṇa* (1.2), *bhaṭṭā*° (1.3), *sāmanta* (1.4), °*dhyātō* (1.6) ; *i* three signs as found in *svasti* (1.1), *shatki* (1.4), *giri* (1.6) ; *ī* two signs as in *Kalī*° (1.5), *kirti* (1.18) ; *u* three different signs as in *bhuja* (1.4), °*mātyu*° (1.11), *bhutvā* (1.26) ; *ē* three signs as found in *Śvētkā* (1.1), *śēsha* (1.4), *madhē* (1.15) ; *ai* two signs as found in *kaidī*° (1.15), *vāruṇai* (1.30) ; *ō* six signs as found in *gurō* (1.1), *hētōr*= (1.2), *Kōlāula* (1.6), *grāmō*° (1.13), *Gōśvā*° (1.17), *yōnyān*= (1.30) ; *au* two signs as found in *gauravāt* (1.22), *gau*° (1.22). The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except that eight of the customary verses occur in ll. 23—34. In respect of orthography the following points may be noted : (1) In certain cases *a* is used instead of *ā* as in *akshēptā* (1.27). (2) *u* has been wrongly placed instead of *au* as it is found in *ubhāū* (1.29). (3) In *vishaē* (1.9), the vowel *ē* is substituted for *yē*. (4) Sometimes the letter *ñ* is wrongly used instead of *ś*, as in °*tañ*=*cha* (1.14). (5) In l. 12 the form *rāṭṭra* has been used for Sanskrit *rāshṭra* apparently due to the influence of the local dialect. (6) Sometimes *ṭ* has wrongly given place to *th*, as in *śashṭhim* (1.26). (7) *n* is used instead of *ṇ* as in *Gōkarnē*° (1.3). (8) As in many other inscriptions of this period, no separate sign for *b* has been employed, it being invariably expressed by the sign for *v*. (9) *ś* is wrongly used for *s* and *sh* as in °*kaśya* (1.3) and *śashṭhim* (1.26) respectively. (10) *sh* is wrongly used for *ś* and *s* as is found in *shatki* (1.4) and *shalīla* (1.20) respectively. (11) *s* is wrongly used for *sh* and *ś* as in °*ghōsa* (1.7) and *ḍasa* (1.15) respectively. (12) *Anusvāra* is wrongly dropped as in *bhavatā* (1.13) and also wrongly used as in *samīkū* (1.24). (13) In the like manner *visarga* is sometimes omitted, as after *nichaya* (1.4) while it is also wrongly used as in *vahubhiḥ* (1.23). Other errors in writing have been noticed in the text or the footnotes accompanying it.

Indravarman mentioned in this inscription is the same as Indravarman noted in the other Badakhimedi copper-plates² on account of the following reasons. First, the script used in both these inscriptions is exactly the same. Secondly, the drafts of both these inscriptions are of the same nature. Thirdly, both were issued from Śvētaka, written by Śrī Sāmanta and engraved by Svayambhu. If we study the Ganjām plates of Prithivivarman,³ the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman⁴ and the present record, then we can form the following genealogical table :—

Mahindravarman
|
Prithivivarman
|
Indravarman=Gōśvāminī

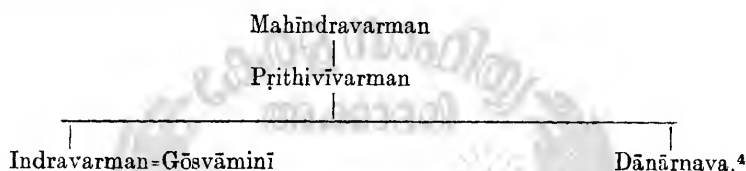
¹ There is a great similarity between this inscription and the plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 265 ff.) which, from the palaeographical point of view, have been rightly ascribed to the 10th century A. D. The Ganjām plates of Prithivivarman (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.) who is the father of Indravarman mentioned in this and the other set of copper-plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.) should necessarily be ascribed to the 10th or the latter half of the 9th century A.D. and not to the 12th or 13th century as suggested with a doubt by Kielhorn nor to the 12th century as held by Mr. Bhattacharyya.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.

The fact that Indravarman had a younger brother named Dānārṇava who succeeded him to the throne may be proved in the following way. It is apparent that *Bhaṭṭaputra* Durgakhaṇḍin, son of Bhaṭṭa Bōdhana of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the *Chhūnlōgya charaṇa*, the donee in one of the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman¹ is the same as *Bhaṭṭa* Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārṇava's grant, coming likewise from the Badakhimedi estate², as the names of the donee's father, *gōtra* and *charaṇa* are the same as in the former. The grantor in the first record is Indravarman while in the second it is Dānārṇava, both of them being the sons of Prithivivarman. From the above facts it may be concluded that Indravarman and Dānārṇava are brothers. There is still further evidence to show that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava. In the Ganjām plates of Prithivivarman the writer and the engraver of the grant are respectively *Samdhivigrahin* Śrī Sāmanta and *kāṁsyakāra* Śrī Sāmanta Svayambhu.³ These two persons also figure in the same capacity in both the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman, one of them being under discussion, but not in the grant of Dānārṇava. This proves that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava, because had it been exactly opposite, then the writer and the engraver of Dānārṇava's grant would have been those whom we have found in the Ganjām plates of Prithivivarman. Thus the genealogy of this royal family taking the grant of Dānārṇava into consideration will be as follows :—



The object of this inscription is to record a gift of land, by Indravarman, situated in the village **Bhēthīśrīṅga** in *Paṭaṇikhāṇḍa-vishaya* on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna for the benefit of his parents and self, to Lōkamādhava, Svayambhukēśvara and some other Brāhmaṇas named Kēśava, Dāupa, Sōmapā, Viṭhu, Madhusūdana, Dhanaśarman, Gaṇapati, Bhṛigudēva, Dēvaśarman, Savarapa and Durgakhaṇḍi.⁵

The places mentioned in this inscription are **Śvētaka**, **Nandagiri**, **Kōlāulapura**, **Paṭaṇikhāṇḍa-vishaya** and **Bhēthīśrīṅga**. As regards Śvētaka, Mr. R. Subba Rao has observed, "It would appear from the *Sthalapurāṇa* that the region round about Śrī-Kūrmam was called *Śvētaka Pushkaraṇi* (sic); and probably the donor had his capital at Śrī-Kūrmam."⁶ Mr. Sarma, however, identifies it with the modern Chikaṭi Zamindari in the Sōmpeṭa taluk of the Ganjām District.⁷ Kōlāulapura has been identified by Rice with the modern Kolar in the east of Mysore and Nandagiri with Nandidrug, the well-known fortified hill to the west of the Kolar District, Mysore.⁸ He proposed these two identifications in connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore; but if we accept them in connection with the Gaṅgas of Orissa, then we presume that the Gaṅgas

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 264.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.

⁴ I am wholly indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph. D. (Lugd.), for kindly permitting me to make full use of an unpublished article of him regarding this genealogical point. This valuable paper of his will be ere long published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. [It has since been published, above, Vol. XXV, p. 240—Ed.]

⁵ It may be that this Durgakhaṇḍi is the same as Durgakhaṇḍin mentioned in the other Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.) and the grant of Dānārṇava (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII p. 264).

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 184.

⁷ *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58.

⁸ *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 32.

of Orissa migrated from Mysore region. Regarding this point Dr. H. C. Roy has observed, "From the fact that they occasionally describe themselves as lords of the city of Kōlāhala it is clear that they considered themselves to be a branch of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the story of their migration and settlement from Kolar to Ganjām and the details of their subsequent history must in the present state of our knowledge remain shrouded in considerable obscurity.In the first half of the 11th century we find another series of kings claiming descent from the same line as the above..... That they also traced their descent from the Gaṅgas of Kolar is proved by the Vizagapatam grant of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, which clearly mentions Kōlāhala, the founder of Kōlāhalapura, in the Gaṅgavāḍi-vishaya, as one of his ancestors. The same inscription distinctly says that Kāmārṇava, a distant descendant of Kōlāhala, leaving Kōlāhalapura with his brothers, came to the Mahēndra mountain, and having conquered Bālāditya through the favour of the god Gōkarnasvāmin, took possession of the Kalinga countries"¹ and Vajrahasta (the earliest Gaṅga prince for whom we have any authentic record) is the seventeenth prince from Kāmārṇava. This shows that there is sufficient ground for holding the theory of the migration of the Gaṅgas of Orissa from the Mysore region. But for the distance one would feel tempted to identify Bhēthīśrīṅga with Barsinga on the Brāhmanī river.² I cannot suggest any identification for Patanikhaṇḍa-vishaya.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ svasti (!*) Śvōtkā(tak-ā)dhishtānād-bhagavataś=charāchara-gurō⁴ śakala-sasāṅka⁵-śrē (śē)-
- 2 khara-dharaśya⁶||⁷ sthity-utpati(tti)-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr=Mahēndrāśchala⁸-śikha-
- 3 ra-nivāsinaḥ śrīmad-Gōkarnē(rṇē)śvara-bhaṭṭārakaśya(sya) charaṇa-kamal-ārādhana-āvāpta-
- 4 punya(nya)-nichaya[h*]||⁷ shakti(śakti)-trayaḥ⁹-prakarsh-ānuraṅgita-śēsha¹⁰-sāmanta-chakra[h*]||⁷ śva(sva)-bhuja-va(ba)-
- 5 la-parākram-ākraṇta||⁷ -sakala-Kalī(li)ṅg-ādhirāja[h*] paramamāhēśvarō mā[tā]-
- 6 pitri-pād-ānudyātō Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka[h*] śrī- Nā(Na)nda-giri-nātha[h*] Kōlāulapura-pa-
- 7 ṭṭaṇa-vinī(ni)rgata-kāmvalya-varaya-ghōsa(shah) ||⁷ ma(a)nēka-jaya-jayā(ya)-sadva¹¹-prachanḍa-daṇḍi-
- 8 ta[h*]||⁷ mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-para¹²mabhaṭṭāraka- śrī-rājā Indravarmadēva[h*] kusha(śa)-

¹ *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 448-49.

² I am wholly indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S. B., for this identification.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read *gurōh*.

⁵ Read *śasāṅka*.

⁶ Read *dharaśya*.

⁷ The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

⁸ Read *Mahēndr-āchala*.

⁹ This *visarga* is not required; read *traya*.

¹⁰ Read *-ānuraṅgita-śēsha*.

¹¹ Read *śabda*.

¹² This *ra* appears below the line.

i.



ii, a.



iii, a.



ii, b.



iii, b.



9 li śrī-**Prithivi(vi)varmasya(ṇaḥ)** śu(su)taḥ Paṭaṇi¹-khaṇḍa-vishaḍ(yē)||²

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 yathā-kāl-ādhyāsi-mahāsāmanta ||³ -śrī-sāmanta ||³ -rājanaka-rā[ja*]putra-kumara(mārā)-
||³
11 mātṛ-utpari⁴-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapati-gā(grā)mapati(tin)||³ anyā(nyām)ś=cha chāṭa-
bhā(bha)ṭa-
12 sāmanta-rāṭṭrakuṭa-kuṭumbina⁵ ||³ janapadānaḥ(dān) samādisha(śa)ti viditam=astu
13 bhavatā[m*] ētaḍ-vishaya-samandha⁶=grāmō-ya[m*] ||³ **Bhēṭhiśringō** nāma sa-jala-
sthal-ārā-
14 nya⁷ chatuḥ-si(sī)m-ōpa-adhasrōtra-śahitēna | lakshitañ(taś)⁸=cha ||³ Ara⁹paduṇi-grā-
15 m-ārdhdha(rddha)-Pārāpadra-khātādi-khām̐bhāra-samitēna ||³ tasya madhē¹⁰ bhu(bhū)mi-
dasa(śa)kaidi-
16 mēkaṁ=ñchaḥ¹¹ śrī-Lōkamādhavasya¹² dataṁ¹³ ||³ apara-ardhdha-ansa¹⁴-bhaṭṭāraka-
Svayambhukē-
17 sarasya¹⁵ ||³ apara-ardhdha-ansa¹⁴ vrāhmaṇānāñ=cha¹⁶ || śrī-Gōśvā(svā)maṇikasya jē(jyē)-
shṭhapu-
18 traḥ śrī-Gāṅga-Svayambhukasya rāgni¹⁷ śrī-Ēlā ||³ tasya dharma-kīrti[r]=jagati

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 paristhāpitaṁ=ñcha¹⁸ ||³ ih=aiva Phālguna-māsa-sulka¹⁹-paksha -chaturdaśi(śī) ||³
parili —
20 kshitaṁ=ñcha²⁰ ||³ mātā-pitō(trō)r-ātmanaś=cha ||³ punyā(nya)-pavardhayōḥ²¹ sha(sa)lila-
dhārā-puraḥsa-

¹ [The letter read as *ṭa* looks more like *dra* or *du*. The name of the *vishaya* may thus be *Padraṇi* or *Paduṇi*, more probably the latter which also occurs below in line 14 as the name of a village. See below f. n. 9.—B. C. C.]

² *Dandas* unnecessary. There is a symbol after the *daṇḍas*, which resembles the symbol of *ōm* in the beginning.

³ The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

⁴ Read *-ōparika-*.

⁵ Read *rāshṭrakūṭa-kuṭumbinaḥ*.

⁶ Read *sambaddha*.

⁷ Read *-āraṇyaś-*.

⁸ Possibly we have to read *chatuḥ-sīm-ōpalakshitah*. [The reading *adhasrōtra* obviously corresponds to *adhaś=ch=ōrdhva*.—B. C. C.]

⁹ This *ra* appears below the line. [Can it be that the intended reading is *aparam Paduṇi-grām-ārdha*—etc. ? See above f. n. 9.—B. C. C.]

¹⁰ Read *madhyē*.

¹¹ Read *mēkaṁ cha*. [Can the intended reading be *ēk-āmśah* ? —B. C. C.]

¹² Read *Lōkamādhavāya*.

¹³ Read *dattah*.

¹⁴ Read *apar-ārdh-āmśah*.

¹⁵ Read *-śvarāya*.

¹⁶ Read *brāhmaṇēbhyaś=cha*.

¹⁷ Read *rājñā*.

¹⁸ Read *pratiśthāpitāś=cha*.

¹⁹ Read *śukla*.

²⁰ Read *pariśkṛitañ=cha*.

²¹ Read *pravṛiddhayē*.

- 21 rēpa¹ ||² chandr-ārka-sthiti-sama-kāla[m] a-kari(rī)-kṛitya pratipāditō=smābhiḥr=yatam³ ||²
- 22 śāsana-darashanā[ta]ḥ dharma-gaura⁴vāt=asmād-gauravā cha⁵ ||² na kēna=chipta(t=pa)-ripanthina(nā)
- 23 bhavivya⁶ || tathā cha paṭhyatē dharma-shā(śā)strē Va(Ba)hubhiḥ[r](bhir)=vaśu(su)dhā datā⁷ rājāna⁸ Sagar-ādi-
- 24 bhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[h*] ||² tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || Mā bhuya (bhūd=a)phala-sam(śa)ñkā va[h*]
- 25 para-datāti⁹ pāṭhivā[h*]¹⁰ || Sha(Sva)-datām(ttām) para-datām=vā(ttām vā) yō harēti(ta) vashu(su)ndharā[m*] | śa(sa) vishthāyā[m*]
- 26 kṛimi[r=*] bhu(bhū)tvā pīṭribhi[h*] saha pachyatē || Śasṭhim=varisha(Shasṭim varsha)-śa(sa)haśrā(srā)pi śvargam(svargē) mōdati bhu(bhū)-
- 27 mida[h*] | a(ā)kshēptā ch=ānumantya(ntā) dhā(cha) [tāny*-] ē¹¹va narakam vrajētaḥ(t) [|*] śva(sva)-dānāt=phalam kuryā-pa¹²

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 para-datā(tt-ā)nupālanam [|] Bhu(Bhū)mi[m*] yahḥ(yaḥ) pratigrihṇā(hṇā)ti tasya¹³ bhu-(bhū)mi[m] prayachchati [|*]
- 29 ubhaii(bhau) tau punya(nya)-karmāṇau nī(ni)yatau śva(sva)rga-gāminau || atham(Yas=tu) hārayatē bhu(bhū)mi[m*]
- 30 mandavudhi(buddhis=tamā(mō)vṛitā(taḥ) [|*] sa vadhō¹⁴ vāruṇai[h*] pāsai(śaiḥ) tiryā¹⁵ -yōnyāñ-cha jāyatē || A-
- 31 nyāya(yē)na hari(hṛi)tā bhu(bhū)mir-anyāyēna tu hāritā || hāratē hārayamtañ-cha¹⁶ dahaty =ā
- 32 shatpāmmam(saptamam) kulam || Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vimḍum(bindu)-lōlā[m] śrī(śri)yam=anu-
- 33 chintā(ntyā) [ma*]nusya(shya)-ji(ji)vitam cha | sakalam=idam=udabri(dāhṛi)taṁ [cha*] vudhā(buddhvā) na hi purushai[h*] pa[ra*]-kīrtayō
- 34 vilōpyā[h|*] likshi(khi)tam=idam mahāsam(sa)ndhivigrahi-śrī-Sāmantēna || utkirna-(tkirṇa) -

¹ Read *purāṣaram*.

² The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgari letter *ga* without the top bar.

³ Read *bhir=yataḥ*.

⁴ This *ra* appears below the line.

⁵ Read *darśanād=dharma-gauravād=asmād-gauravāch=cha*.

⁶ Read *bhavitavyam*.

⁷ Read *datā*.

⁸ Read *rājābhiḥ*.

⁹ Read *para-dati=ēti*.

¹⁰ Second half of the verse missing here but occurs in ll. 27-28.

¹¹ This *ē* is initial.

¹² Read *phalam-ānantiyam* as found in many instances. This half of the verse should occur in l. 25, as noticed above.

¹³ Read *yaś=cha*.

¹⁴ Read *baddhō*.

¹⁵ Read *tiryag*.

¹⁶ Read *haratō hārayataś=cha*.

- 35 ñ=cha¹ śāsana² kāmisa(sya)kāra- śrēshṭhi -śrī -Sāmanta- Śva(Sva)yambhunā Napa³
shu(su)tēna ||
36 lāñchhitam(ta)ñ=cha śrī Gōśvā(svā)minikēna || tachharvam⁴ pramāṇam=iti || [chha] ||

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 37 Bhaṭṭaputra Kēśava || apara Dāupa || punaḥ Śō(Sō)mapā || punaḥ Viṭhu ||
38 punuḥ(naḥ) Madhusā(sū)dana || punuḥ(naḥ) Dhanaśarma || apara Bhaṭṭaputra-vāstavya-
Gaṇapati ||
39 Bhṛigudēvaś=cha || apara Dēvasha(śa)rma || apara Savarapaḥ || Durgakhaṇḍi ||
ēbhi(bhyō)
40 brāhmaṇēbhō(bhyō) dataṁ(ttam) || o ||

No. 24.—A BUDDHIST TRACT IN A STONE INSCRIPTION IN THE CUTTACK MUSEUM.

By A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The **stone-slab** containing the following inscription is housed in the Provincial Museum of Orissa, Cuttack. Professor G. S. Das, the Secretary of the Museum, informs me that there is no record in the Museum to show the findspot of the inscription or the year of its discovery. My thanks are due to Professor Das for his permission to edit the inscription in the pages of this journal.

The **inscription** is engraved on both sides of a slab of stone, 1'6"×1'2"×4", there being 11 lines on the obverse and 10 on the reverse. The **letters** are neatly and clearly engraved, their average size being $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to about the tenth century A. D. and do not call for any special remarks. As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to (1) the use of the *avagraha* sign in *likhivā=bhyaṁtaram* (l. 12); (2) the non-duplication of the consonant after the superscript *r* in *sarva* (l. 2 et passim), *mārga* (l. 6), *dharma* (l. 17), *āmtarya* (l. 19); contrast, however, *chūrṇa* (l. 15); (3) the use of *anusvāra* for the class-nasal in *mantra* (l. 7), *abhyāmtaram* (l. 12), *gaṇḍha* (l. 14), *bhavanī* (l. 16), *saṁgha* (l. 17), *Ānanda* (ll. 18 and 21), *manḍa* (l. 18) and *āmtarya* (l. 19); and (4) the use of *v* for *b* throughout.

The **text** of the inscription is a quotation of some Buddhist *dhāraṇī* followed by a discourse on the use and virtues of the *dhāraṇī*. The tract purports to have been uttered by the Buddha himself to his disciple Ānanda, though I have not succeeded in locating it in the Buddhist texts that I have consulted. It is said in the text that the *dhāraṇī* should be written and thrown inside a *chaitya*, by which act one acquires the virtue of erecting a lac of *Tathāgata-chaityas*. We have archæological evidence that this practice of enshrining sacred texts was followed all over India. At Nālandā, for instance, besides some bricks inscribed with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*⁵ or its shorter version *yē dharmā*, etc., there have been found a large number of terracotta tablets bearing on them the text of some *dhāraṇī*⁶. The minuteness

¹ *Visarga* is superfluous. Read °ñ=cha.

² Read *śāsanaṁ*.

³ Are we to read *Nripa*? [This Napa may be identical with Napa, the engraver of the Tokkali plates of Anantavarman; see below p. 176, text l. 25.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *tat=sarvam*.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 194 ff.; Vol. XXIV, pp. 20ff.

⁶ Cf. *An. Rep. Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1915-16, p. 36.

of the characters on these tablets often forbid an accurate decipherment of the inscriptions. But on examining some of them on which the inscriptions are somewhat clear, I found that at least two give the same *dhāraṇī* as is contained in the present inscription, together with a few extra lines at the beginning and at the end.¹

The practice of immuring sacred objects including inscribed religious texts inside votive *stūpas* took a somewhat different form in some Buddhist sites. At Nālandā and Paharpur², for instance, hoards of lumps of clay, encasing two plaques with figures of Buddha, Tārā, etc., or inscribed with the Buddhist formula, have been found within the core of single votive *stūpas*. The origin of this custom seems to be explained by a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*³ in which the Buddha enumerates the different ways of worshipping a *chaitya*, viz., by circumambulation, throwing a lump of clay, placing a heap of *mukta*-flowers, putting a garland, dedicating a lamp and anointing with perfumes.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 धर धर । हर हर । प्रहर प्रहर । महावो(बो)धिचित्तधरे ।
- 2 चुलु चुलु । शतरश्मिसंचोदिते । सर्वतथागताभि-
- 3 षेकाभिषिक्ते । गुणगणमते । वु(बु)द्गुणावहासे ।
- 4 मिलि मिलि । गगनतलप्रतिष्ठिते । नभस्तले । श-
- 5 म शम । प्रशम प्रशम । सर्वपापप्रशमने । सर्व-
- 6 पापविशोधने । हुलु हुलु । महावो(बो)धिमार्गसंप्रस्थि-

¹ The tablets referred to here are two of the six hundred tablets that were found together in 1915-16 in Stūpa Site No. 2 and are now in the Archaeological Museum at Nālandā, bearing the register numbers 2-42 and 2-193. The text of the former is given below:

- 1 ōm namō bhagavatē vipula-vadana-kāñchan-ākshi-
- 2 pta-prabhāsa-kē(?)tu-pūrvva-tathāgatāya namō bhagava-
- 3 tē Sākya-munayē tathāgatāy-ārhatē saṃyak-saṃvu(bu)ddhāya
- 4 tad-yathā ōm vō(bō)dhi vō(bō)dhi vō(bō)dhi sarva-tathāgata-gōchara dhara
- 5 hara hara prahara prahara mahā-vō(bō)dhi-chitta-dharē chulu ehulu śata-raśmi-saṃ-
- 6 chōditē sarva-tathāgat-ābhishiktē guṇa-gaṇa-matē vu(bu)ddha-guṇ-āvahā-
- 7 sē mili mili gagana-tala-sarva-tathāgat-ādhiśthitē na-
- 8 bhas-talē śama śama sarva-pāpa-praśamanē sarva-pāpa-viśōdhanē
- 9 hulu hulu mahā-vō(bō)dhi-mārga-saṃprasthitē sarva-tathāgata-pratiśṭhita-
- 10 śuddhē svāhā sarva-tathāgata-ryavalōkitē jaya jaya svā-
- 11 hā huru huru jaya-mukhē svāhā ēka-chaitya-kṛitēna
- 12 lakshā(ksham) kṛitā bhava[m]ti pratītya-samutpādatā
- 13 five illegible letters, followed by a symbol denoting *vajra*.

The portions italicized above are somewhat different from the corresponding portions of the text appearing in the stone inscription edited here. No. 2-193 gives the same text in 11 lines, the only difference being that the word *dhara* (l. 4 above) is repeated twice and that after *jaya-mukhē* (l. 11 above) it repeats the Buddhist formula *yē dharmā*, etc., instead of the portion beginning with *ēka-chaitya-kṛitēna*.

² *Excavations at Paharpur*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 55, p. 83.

³ *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 78-79.

- 7 ते । सर्वतथागतप्रतिष्ठितशुद्धे स्वाहा ॥ मूलमंत्रः । स-
 8 र्वतथागतगोचरव्यवलोकिते जय जय स्वाहा । हृदये । हु-
 9 रु हुरु जयमुखे स्वाहा । उपहृ[द*]यं [॥*] यः कश्चिच्चित्तुर्वा
 10 भिक्षुणी वा उपासको वा उपासिका वा । अन्यो वा । शः(यः?)
 11 क[श्चित्] आहः¹ कुले पुत्रो वा कुले दुहिता वा² ———

Reverse.

- 12 [इ]मां धारणी['] [f]लिखित्वाऽभ्यंतरं प्रक्षिप्य चैत्य['] क-
 13 [रि]ष्यति ।³ तेनैकेन चैत्येन कृतेन लक्षं तथागत-
 14 चैत्यानां कृतं भवति । ते च चैत्या[ः*] सर्वगंधपुष्पधूप-
 15 चूर्णचावर⁴च्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिदि⁵रूपकरणैः पू-
 16 जिता भवन्ति । न केवलं चैत्यमेवमपि तु बु(बु)द्धरत्नं ध-
 17 र्मरत्नं संघरत्नं चैवंविधैरूपकरणैः पूजितं भवति ।
 18 एवम्(स्म)यानंद संक्षिप्तेन देशितं मंदपुण्यानां अयु-⁶
 19 रि—शुद्धानां मिथ्यादृष्टिवैमतिकाना(नां) यानांतर्य-
 20 कारिणां अल्पायुष्काणां⁷ नरकतिर्य[्य*]ग्योनियमलोकपरा-
 21 यणानां सत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नामर्था(?)य य—सा(?)मानंद गृहस्था[नां*?] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 9-21)⁸ Whichever person, (be he) a monk or a nun or a male lay-worshipper or a female lay-worshipper or any son of a noble family or a daughter of a noble family having faith, constructs a *chaitya* after having written this *dhāraṇī* and thrown it inside—by the construction of that single *chaitya*, a lac of *Tathāgata-chaityas* will have been constructed by him.

¹ Read कश्चिच्छाहः.

² Read कुलपुत्री वा कुलदुहिता वा.

³ *Danda* unnecessary.

⁴ Read °चावर°

⁵ Read °पताकादिभि°

⁶ Read °पुण्यानामयु°. [Intended reading seems to be °*m=aparīśuddhānān*. The letter after *ri* seems to be a malformed *śu* scord out.—Ed.]

⁷ Read °कारिणामल्पायुष्काणां

⁸ Lines 1-9 give the text of the *dhāraṇī* which it is not possible to translate.

Those *chaityas* are worshipped with the accessories of all perfumes, flowers, incenses, powders, *chowries*, umbrellas, flags, banners, etc. Not only a *chaitya*, but the Jewel of the Buddha, the Jewel of the Law, and the Jewel of the Order are worshipped with such accessories. O Ānanda, thus has been indicated in brief by me, for the sake of persons who have small virtues,who are of a wrong disposition due to false sight, who create obstacles (?) in the Vehicle, who have a short life, whose refuge is in hell, in a birth as a lower animal or in the world of Yama, (and) O Ānanda,(of?) householders.

No. 25.—TEKKALI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN; GANGA YEAR 358.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M. A., CALCUTTA.

The plates forming the subject of the present paper were received for examination by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from the Rājā Bāhādur of Tekkali in the Ganjām District of Madras, in whose ownership they lie at present. They were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*¹ for the year 1935-36. I now edit the inscription for the first time from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in charge of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

According to the information kindly supplied by the office of the Government Epigraphist, these are **three sheets** of copper measuring approximately 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a **ring-hole**, about $\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a copper **ring** about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered on to the protruding bottom of a small circular **seal** about $\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter. It bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a bull facing proper left. The **weight** of the plates along with the ring and the seal is 57 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets with a sprinkling of northern forms here and there. They generally resemble those of the Alamāṇḍa plates of Anantavarman², the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman³ and the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarmān⁴. An important palaeographic feature of the present inscription is that some of the letters show two alternative forms: such, for example, are *n* (Cf. *bhavana* and *anēka*, l. 4), *bh* as in *prabha* (l. 9) and *bhavana* (l. 4), *m* as in *anara* (l. 1) and *chūḍāmaṇi* (l. 5), *v* as in *vara* (l. 10) and *vinaya* (l. 12), and *s* as in *samasta* (l. 9). The conjunct *śrī* in l. 16 (in both cases) is also noteworthy.

Among **orthographical features** worth noticing are the following: (1) both *s* and *ś* have been promiscuously used throughout, (2) medial signs like *ā* and *ē* have often been omitted, (3) consonants before or after *r* are occasionally doubled, and (4) *anusvāra* or *visarga* have been left out in a large number of cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit⁵; with the exception of a verse and a half coming at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. The composition is extremely faulty. There are altogether three plates of which the first and the third are engraved on their inner sides only, while the second one bears writing on both of its faces. Each of the inscribed plates, except the last one

¹ No. 3 of 1935-36; pp. 5 and 59 ff.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 17 ff. and plate.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff. and plate.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff. and plate.

⁵ Stray cases of vernacularisation such as *savachhrara* (l. 23), *athavanāsād* (l. 24) or *silōkū* (l. 26) that occur are a far too common feature of inscriptions of this age from Kalinga.

which has eight lines, contains seven lines of writing, the complete record thus running to twenty-nine lines. Both the scribe and the engraver have executed their work very carelessly. The inscription is however on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The inscription apparently records the gift of the village of *Siñicharaṇa* (no district has been mentioned) to a Brāhmaṇa called Viṭhubhaṭa (Vishṇubhaṭṭa), son of Harichandra, belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. The donor was the king *Anantavarman*, son of *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarmān, who belonged to the Gaṅga *kula*. The gift, which was issued from *Kaliṅganagara*, was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

The writer of the record was the *Sāmanta* Māṭrisiri and the engraver was the *Akshaśūlin* Napa.

The date given (in words) is the Year 358 of the prosperous victorious reign of the Gaṅgas.

The chief interest of the present record lies in the date and the personality of its donor. As has been mentioned above, the record belongs to Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarmān, and is dated in the Gaṅga Year 358. This date precludes any possibility of identifying the father of the donor of the present record with any other person than Dēvēndravarmān, father of Satyavarman. For the last-named, we have an inscription dated in the Year 351¹ of the Gaṅga era. This last date again is fairly near to that of our inscription, viz., 358. I, therefore, suggest that Anantavarman of the present inscription was a brother² of Satyavarman of the Chicacole plates. This satisfactorily adjusts the date of the inscription and finds a place for its donor in the Gaṅga pedigree in the following fashion :

³Dēvēndravarmān (III)

Satyavarman (Year 351)

Anantavarman (III)
(Year 358)

Of the localities mentioned, *Kaliṅganagara* occurs frequently in inscriptions of Gaṅga kings. It has generally been identified with modern *Kaliṅgapatam* or with *Mukhaliṅgam*. I am however unable at present to locate the village granted.

Palaeographically, the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman may be referred to the third quarter of the 9th century A.D.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

1 Ōm⁵ Svasty(ti) [||*] Amarapur-ānukāriṇa[h*] śa(sa)rv-artu-sukha-rama-
2 ṇi(ṇi)yād=vijayavata[h*] *Kaliṅganagarādhdivaśaka*⁶ Mahē-

¹ I follow the revised reading reported (D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 203 and f. n. 4) to have been suggested to Dr. E. Hultzsch by Mr. Ramamurti, viz., -śata-tray-aikapañchāsa(śa)ṭ. The palaeography of the inscription absolutely contradicts such an early date as the Year 151 as suggested (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 12, text, 135) by Dr. J. F. Fleet. This seems to me to be a definite case of remissness on the part of both the engraver and the scribe.

² [This relationship has already been pointed out in the *An. Rep. on S.-I. Epigraphy*, 1935-36, p. 6.—Ed.]

³ Dēvēndravarmān, the father of Satyavarman, and, as I have shown, also of Anantavarman of the present record, has variously been called as D° III or D° IV (see, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 75 and f. n. 7). In my genealogical scheme, I have followed D. R. Bhandarkar (*List*, p. 386, column 2, No. 14) and R. D. Banerji (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 234) in taking Dēvēndravarmān of our inscription as D° III and his son as Anantavarman III.

⁴ From ink-impressions.

⁵ Denoted by a symbol.

⁶ The intended reading seems to be *Kaliṅganagar-ādhivāśakāt*. The word *adhivāśaka* should, however, be corrected into *vāśaka*.

- 3 dr(ndr)-ācha[l-ā]mala-si(śi)khara-pratiṭi(śhṭhi)taśi(sya) sa-chara(rā)cha[ra*]-
 4 gurō[h*] sakala-bha(bhu)vana-nirmma-anēka¹-sūtra-
 5 dhārasi(sya) śasā(śā)ṅka-chu(chū)ḍama²ni-bhagava-
 6 tō Gōkarṇasamīna³=charaṇa-kamala-ju(yu)gala-
 7 praṇama(ṇāmā)d=vigata-kali-kāla-kalaṅka[h*] anēk-ā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 bava-sachhō(ṅkshō)bha-janita-jaya-sanda⁴ pratāpa(p-ā)vana-
 9 ta-samaśta(sta)-samasta⁵-śama⁶-chakrē(kra)-chūḍḍaṇī⁷-prabha⁸(bhā)-ma-
 10 ṇjari(rī)-puja(ṇja)-raṇjita-vara-charaṇa[h*] sita-kumuda-
 11 kudēdvu(nd-ēndv-a)vadāta-yashō(śā) dbvaśt-arati⁹-kula(l-ā)cha-
 12 lō naya-vinaya-daya(yā)-dāna-dāṅchakshinya-sarja-
 13 dārjya-śati-tyōg-adhvi¹⁰-guṇa-saṁpadā[m=ā*]dbāra-bhū-
 14 tō(tah) paramamāhēśvarō ma(mā)tā-pitri(tṛi)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 15 pād-ānudhvā(dhyā)[tō] Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilakō mahāra(rā)-
 16 ja-śrī-Dēvētra(ndra)varmma-sūnu-śrī-Anantavarmma-
 17 dēvaṇa(vēna) udaka-pūrvra(rvva)[m*] kṛitvā sūrjya(ryya)-grah-ōpara(rā)gē
 18 sapradata¹¹ | ¹²Kāṇḍilya-gōtra-Harichandra-sū-
 19 nu-Viṭhubhaṭēṇa(na) upā[r*]jitaṁ vā[i?] |
 20 Siṇicharaṇa-gra(grā)mō=¹³ya[m*] rō[ka?]-kuṭuvina¹⁴
 21 . . i sada-bala-bhūmi-chaturāṅghaṭa(r-āghāṭa)- ¹⁵chbēda-

Third Plate.

- 22 si(śi)l-āṅkitam taṭākēna śa(sa)hita[m*] | Ga[n*]gēya-va[m*]-
 23 śa-pravadhvamāna-vijutya¹⁶-rājya-savachhrara¹⁷-sa(śa)ta-
 24 rṭṛiṇi-aṭhavanāśād¹⁸ || likhitam=idam Mātṛisiri-śa-
 25 matēṇa¹⁹ | utkirṇam²⁰ akhasālina²¹ Napēṇa | ada-

¹ Read -nirmmān-aika-.

² Note the northern form of m.

³ Read Gōkarṇasvāmīna=.

⁴ Read -śabdah.

⁵ The word samasta is repeated needlessly.

⁶ Read -sāmanta-.

⁷ Read -chūḍāmaṇi-.

⁸ Note the northern form of bh.

⁹ Read dhrast-ārāti-.

¹⁰ Read -dāṅkshinya-śaury-audāryya-satya-tyūg-ūdi-.

¹¹ Read saṁpradattoh.

¹² This might be restored as Śāṇḍilya rather than as Kaṇḍīya.

¹³ The letter ya was subsequently inserted, rather below the line of writing.

¹⁴ Read kuṭumbinah. [Reading may be Rō[kū]kuṭuvina dui-sada, etc., i.e. in addition to the village, the gift seems to have consisted of 200 *halas* of land belonging to the cultivator Rōkū (?) and also a *taṭāka*.]

The name of the village appears to be Vāisīnicharaṇa. In fact the mark after Vāi would show that the word is meant to be continued in the next line. Perhaps it was meant to be an agrahāra village which was mostly inhabited by the Brahmins of the White Yajurveda belonging to the Vājasaneyī charana.—Ed.]

¹⁵ This word appears to have been engraved somewhat above the proper line of writing.

¹⁶ Read -pravarddhamāna-vijaya-.

¹⁷ Read -samatsara-.

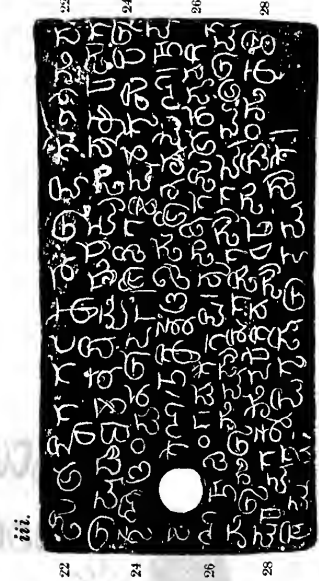
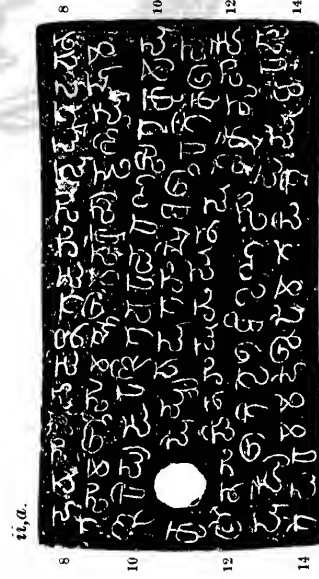
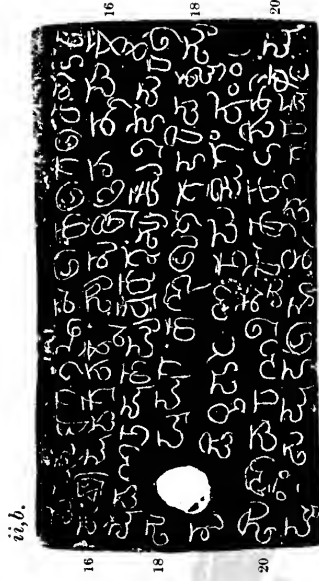
¹⁸ Read -trayā-āṣṭapañchāśat, or better -trayaṁ s-āṣṭapañchāśat.

¹⁹ Read -sāmāntēna-.

²⁰ Read utkirṇam.

²¹ Read akhasālina.

TEKKALI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN; GANGA YEAR 358.



- 26 na acharaṁ || vātōtapi | Vya(vyā)sa-gītā-silōkā bbuvati¹ [||*]
 27 ²Yaśya(sya) yaśya(sya) yada(dā) bhūmi tasi(s-tasya) tasya tadā phala[m*] [||*] ³Sa-data
 28 para-datarm=vā⁴ yō harēti(ta) vasu[n*]dharā[m*] [||*] sa viṭhayā⁵ kṛimi-
 29 ri putvā⁶ pitṛibhi[h*] śa(sa)ba da(pa)chyatē (||)

No. 26.—DONGARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAGADDEVA ; SAKA 1034.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In October 1939 Mr. M. G. Deshmukh, M.A., my former student and a research scholar of the Nagpur University, told me about a stone inscription at **Ḍōṅgargāon**, a village about 10 miles from Pusad in the Yeotmal District of Berar. I gave him the necessary materials for taking an estampage of the record. He copied it with the assistance of Mr. Tatvavadi, Tahasildar of Pusad. His estampage, though not perfect, was sufficiently clear to show that it was a record of the time of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva, which had not been noticed in the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*. I published a short note on its contents and historical importance in the local papers in February 1940. As the estampage taken by Mr. Deshmukh was not sufficiently good for reproduction, I requested the Government Epigraphist for India to copy the record for me. In compliance therewith Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra kindly supplied me with excellent estampages from which I edit the record here.

Ḍōṅgargāon is, as its name signifies, situated on a hill. There are two old temples here, one of which is in a fair state of preservation. The other one is very much dilapidated. Its *maṇḍapa* alone is now standing, the *garbhagṛiha* having fallen into ruins. The present inscription is incised on the architrave of the door of the old *garbhagṛiha* of this temple. The writing covers a space 4' 3½" broad and 7½" high, and consists of eight lines. It has suffered a good deal by exposure to weather, some *aksharas* in the first and last lines and at either end of the remaining ones having now become almost illegible. Besides, the stone was not originally well dressed and the technical execution of the record also is not satisfactory. It is, however, possible to read with patience and perseverance almost the whole of it except about a dozen *aksharas* which have become altogether illegible in lines 1, 5, 7 and 8. The characters are Nāgari, regular for the period to which the record refers itself. The size of the letters is '7" in the first six lines, but is reduced to '6" in the seventh line and to '5" in the eighth for want of space. Worthy of note is the use of double *prishṭha-mātrās* in several places. In other inscriptions of the same period, one of the two *mātrās* denoting the medial *ai* and *au* is usually placed on the top of a letter, while the other becomes a *prishṭha-mātrā*. This is noticed in the present inscription also in *puṇy-ōdayāy=aitat* in l. 7. But in all other cases both the *mātrās* of the medial *ai* and *au* appear as *prishṭha-mātrās*.⁷ In many cases the letters *p* and *y* as well as

¹ Read *ślōkā bhavanti*.

² The engraver has carelessly left out the first half of this oft-repeated verse, viz., *Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ*.

³ Read *Sva-dattām*.

⁴ Read *-dattām vā*.

⁵ Read *viṣṭhāyām*.

⁶ Read *krimir=bhūtvā*.

⁷ I have noticed a similar use of double *prishṭha-mātrās* in an old Marāṭhī manuscript of the Mahānubhāva sect from Berar.

t and *n* have closely similar forms; *b*, as distinguished from *v*, is indicated in one place by a rectangular sign almost identical with that for *p*, see *babhūva*, l. 2; in all other cases, it is denoted by the sign for *v*. The sign of the *avagraha* occurs twice in l. 4. The language is Sanskrit and the record is, on the whole, correctly written. It evinces here and there the poet's fondness for alliteration. Except for the customary obeisance to Śiva in the beginning and the usual imprecation, the particulars of the date and the name of the writer at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. It contains fourteen verses, all of which are numbered. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant following *r* and the use of *v* for *b*.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva. The object of it is to record that Jagaddēva granted the village *ḍḍṅaragrāma* to the Brāhmaṇa Śrinivāsa and that the latter erected there a temple which he dedicated to Śiva for the religious merit of his father Śrinidhi. The inscription was written by Viśvasvāmin. The date is given in the last line as the full-moon *tithi* of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1034 (expressed in decimal figures only), the cyclic year being Nandana. This date corresponds to Friday, the 15th March A. D. 1112. It does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that the cyclic year corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1034 was Nandana according to the southern lunisolar system. This is the only dated record of the reign of Jagaddēva and the only Paramāra inscription found in Berar. Another inscription¹ of Jagaddēva's reign was discovered some years ago at Jainad in the Adilābād District of the Nizam's Dominions, but it is undated.

By way of introduction the inscription gives the genealogy of the king Jagaddēva. Like other Paramāra records it mentions that the royal family was descended from the eponymous hero Paramāra who was born from the sacrificial fire of Vasishṭha when the latter was enraged by Viśvāmitra forcibly seizing his *kāmaḍhenu*. In his family which by its noble warlike deeds surpassed the solar and lunar races, was born Bhōja who resembled Rāma by his noble qualities. We are next told that when the Mālava country sank under the attacks of three enemies, Udayāditya, the brother (*bhrātā*) of Bhōja, came to its rescue. This is the first record in which the relationship of Udayāditya to Bhōja is so clearly stated. Some Paramāra inscriptions² describe Udayāditya as meditating on the feet of Bhōja, but they do not mention how he was related to Bhōja. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription³ dated Vikrama Samvat 1161 has indeed been known for a long time to refer to Udayāditya as a *bandhu* of Bhōja, but as *bandhu* signifies in Sanskrit the sense of a distant relative as well as that of a brother, Udayāditya was supposed by scholars to be remotely related to Bhōja.⁴ The aforementioned Jainad inscription mentions Bhōja as the *pitrivya* (uncle) and Udayāditya as the father of Jagaddēva. This clearly implies that Udayāditya was a brother of Bhōja, but as a stone inscription⁵ at Udayapur gives an altogether different genealogy for Udayāditya from that of Bhōja, namely, that he was the son of Gyātā, grandson of Gōṇḍala and great-grandson of Śūravira of the Paramāra family, it was supposed that Udayāditya belonged to a minor branch of the Paramāra clan and was a distant cousin of Bhōja.⁶ The present inscription which uses the word *bhrātā* to indicate the relationship leaves no doubt that Udayāditya was Bhōja's real brother. The evidence of the Udayapur inscription which is a very late record⁷ has to be rejected in view

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 54 ff.

² See, e.g., the Shērgadh inscription of Udayāditya, above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

³ Above, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff.

⁴ This view was first expressed by Prof. Kielhorn and has since been adopted by others.

⁵ J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 549.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 56.

⁷ It is dated Vikrama Samvat 1562. See D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 134.

of the testimony of three very early documents, viz., the Nagpur Museum, Jainad and Dōngargāon inscriptions.

The present record states in verse 5 that Udayāditya rescued the Mālava country when it was attacked by three kings. The invaders are not specifically mentioned here, but from verse 32 of the Nagpur Museum stone inscription we learn that two of them were Karṇa and the king of Karṇāṭa.¹ As I have shown elsewhere,² this Karṇa was the homonymous Kalachuri king, the son of Gāṅgāyādēva, who ruled from A. D. 1041 to circa 1072. Karṇa invaded Malwa twice. In this first invasion which occurred soon after the death of Bhōja, his ally was the Chaulukya king Bhīma of Gujarāt.³ Jayasīṃha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned, solicited the aid of the powerful Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla. The latter sent his son Vikramāditya VI who turned back the invaders and reinstated Jayasīṃha. About fifteen years later,⁴ Karṇa again attacked Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Āhavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. The latter was, however, apprehensive of his ambitious younger brother Vikramāditya VI and therefore must have readily allied himself with the mighty Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription states that the lord (*svāmin*), who was plainly the Paramāra king Jayasīṃha, was submerged when the Karṇāṭa king, Karṇa and other princes joined (one another from different sides) like mighty oceans. Kalachuri inscriptions do not generally mention this event, because they nowhere give a detailed account of Karṇa's conquests. The recently discovered Rewah stone inscription⁵ of the time of Karṇa also does not mention it, though it describes Karṇa's campaigns against other kings, but that is evidently because the event occurred long after A. D. 1048-49 which is the date of that inscription. Karṇa's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is however mentioned in an Apabhraṃśa verse to which I have drawn attention elsewhere.⁶ The Chālukya records are not altogether silent about this achievement of Sōmēśvara II. The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (A.D. 1075) mentions the Chālukya king as 'a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavayas'.

It is nowhere specifically stated who was the third invader of Malwa. But it seems probable that the reference is to the Western Gaṅga chief Udayāditya. From several records⁷ in the Kanarese country we know that this Udayāditya and the valiant Hoysaḷa prince Eṇṇayaṅga joined Sōmēśvara in his attack on Malwa. Eṇṇayaṅga in particular is said to have

¹ Above, Vol. II, p. 185. In verse 32 of this inscription Kielhorn read *maḥ-ārṇṇav-ōpama-milat-Karṇāṭa-Karṇa-prabhum=urvīpāla-kadarthitām*. Kielhorn's edition of the inscription is not accompanied by a facsimile of the record, but the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya ingeniously suggested that the correct reading should be *-Karṇāṭa-Karṇa-prabhrīty-urvīpāla-*. (See his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. III, pp. 169-70, n.) I have examined the original in the Nagpur Museum. The medial vowel of the *akṣara* following *pra* is clearly *ri*, not *n*, and the following *akṣara* also is *tyu*, not *mu* as read by Kielhorn. It is plain therefore that the Mālava country was invaded by a confederacy of more than two kings.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 107, n. 1.

³ Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, tr. by Tawney, pp. 74 ff.

⁴ As shown below, Karṇa's ally this time was Sōmēśvara II who ascended the throne in Śaka 991. Karṇa was succeeded by his son Yaśaḥkarṇa in circa A.D. 1072. His campaign in Malwa must therefore be dated in circa A.D. 1070.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 107.

⁷ D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty* p. 128.

trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's hill fort and burnt and devastated Dhārā. Jayasimha succumbed to this powerful attack and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom was completely wiped out. The terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country on this occasion is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum stone inscription which likens it to the catastrophe of world-destruction when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. In this hour of need Udayāditya, the brother of Bhōja, rose to the occasion. He routed the enemies' forces and rescued the Mālava country just as the Primeval Boar had uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*. The latter part of the Udayapur stone inscription of the time of Udayāditya,¹ which has recently been discovered, states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Dāhala who could have been none other than the Kalachuri Karṇa.

The present inscription states further that though Udayāditya had several sons² he longed to have one more who would be after his heart. He therefore devoutly prayed to Śiva and by the god's favour obtained the son Jagaddēva. After Udayāditya's death, the inscription proceeds to state, Royal Fortune offered herself to Jagaddēva, but he renounced her in favour of his elder brother, being apprehensive of incurring the sin of *parivitti*³ (i.e. marrying before an elder brother marries). Two other sons of Udayāditya are known from inscriptions, viz., Lakshmadēva and Naravarman who succeeded him one after the other. Jagaddēva is mentioned in certain Hoysala records⁴ as the king of Malwa. As his name is not mentioned in other Paramāra inscriptions, he was supposed to be identical with Lakshmadēva⁵ whom the Nagpur Museum stone inscription mentions as the son and successor of Udayāditya. The present inscription, however, makes it plain that Jagaddēva was different from both Lakshmadēva and Naravarman and that, though he could have easily ascended the throne of Malwa, he relinquished it in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadēva.

Jagaddēva was probably the youngest son of Udayāditya. The description in verse 8 suggests that he was a favourite son of his father and was nominated by him as his successor. According to the *Rās Mālā*⁶, Udayāditya had two wives, one of the Wāghelā clan and the other of the Sōlaṅki. The former bore to him a son named Raṇadhavala and the latter Jagaddēva⁷. Raṇadhavala was the elder son and the heir-apparent. Jagaddēva was younger by two years. As Udayāditya was completely under the influence of Raṇadhavala's mother who ill-treated Jagaddēva, the latter left Malwa and took military service under Siddharāja-Jayasimha of Gujarāt. He served him for eighteen years, but when he came to know that Siddharāja was planning an invasion of Malwa, he returned to his native country where he was affectionately welcomed by his father who nominated him as his successor. After his father's death, Jagaddēva ascended the throne of Malwa and ruled for 52 years.

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State* for 1925-26, p. 13. This clearly shows that the king Karṇa who was responsible for the destruction of Jayasimha was the Kalachuri and not the Chaulukya king of that name.

² The text has *tasya satse=api putrēshu* which shows that Udayāditya had at least three sons at the time.

³ *Parivitti* is used here in the sense of *parivēdana*, for the word generally denotes an elder brother who remains unmarried. See *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya III, v. 171. Manu says that in such cases both the elder and younger brothers, the girl married by the younger brother, the person who gives her in marriage and the officiating priest all go to hell. *Ibid.*, adhyāya III, v. 172.

⁴ See, e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

⁵ D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 142.

⁶ *Rās Mālā*, ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

⁷ The editor of the *Rās Mālā* spells the names as Rindhuvu and Jug Dev.

The foregoing account of Gujarāt bards cannot, of course, be accepted in its entirety, but it is to a certain extent corroborated by the present inscription. The tenor of the description in verse 6, for instance, suggests that Jagaddēva was a half-brother of Lakshmadēva who perhaps bore the *biruda* of Raṇadhavala. He seems also to have been nominated by Udayāditya as his successor, but the present inscription leaves no doubt that he never ascended the throne of Malwa¹.

When Jagaddēva relinquished his claim to the throne of Malwa in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadēva, he seems to have gone to Kuntala in search of 'fields and pastures new'. The present inscription states in verse 9 that the king of Kuntala treated Jagaddēva very affectionately. He called him the first among his sons, the lord of his kingdom, his right arm, nay, his very self. This king of Kuntala was plainly the contemporary king of the later Chālukya dynasty who was Vikramāditya VI (A. D. 1076-1126). He seems to have appointed Jagaddēva to govern the country to the north of the Gōdāvarī which he had then recently wrested from the Paramāras. This territory was for some time the battle ground of contending powers. During the time of the Rāshtrakūṭas the Narmadā was apparently the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. When Siyaka attempted to invade the Rāshtrakūṭa territory, he was opposed by Khōṭṭiga, the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa king, on the bank of the Narmadā². The latter was however defeated by the Paramāra king who followed up his victory and stormed the Rāshtrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa. Subsequently the Gōdāvarī seems to have been fixed as the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. This state of things continued for some time even after the last Rāshtrakūṭa king had been overthrown by Tailapa II, the founder of the later Chālukya dynasty. This appears plain from the account of Mēruṭuṅga who states that when Tailapa harassed Muṇja by sending raiders into his country and the latter determined to march against him, his prime minister Rudrāditya advised him to make the river Gōdāvarī the utmost limit of his expedition and not to advance beyond it³. After Muṇja was defeated and taken captive, the Chālukyas seem to have advanced northward and conquered much of the territory previously held by the Rāshtrakūṭas, but they were soon driven out by Sindhurāja, the brother and successor of Muṇja. The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of the Paramāra king's court-poet Padmagupta describes this achievement of Sindhurāja in the following words:—'who (*i.e.*, Sindhurāja) with his sword red with missiles recovered his kingdom (*svarājya*) which had been occupied by the lord of Kuntala who overran all directions just as the sun, whose harbinger is Aruṇa, assumes possession of the day that was before enveloped in dense darkness spread in all directions⁴.' The *svarājya* recovered by Sindhurāja must have been the southern portion of the Paramāra kingdom including the northern parts of Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha which had been annexed by Tailapa. Since then we get some Paramāra records from that part of the country. A copper-plate inscription found at Kalvan in the Nāsik District records a grant of land to a Jain sage at the *tirtha* of Kālākālśvara, 10 miles west of Kalvan, while the surrounding country was governed by Yaśovarman, a feudatory of Bhōja⁵. Towards the end of Udayāditya's reign the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI made an incursion into Vidarbha and occupied parts of it for some time. A stone inscription

¹ The authors of the aforementioned Hoysala inscriptions also had apparently no accurate knowledge of the state of Jagaddēva.

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 47.

³ *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Tawney's tr., p. 33.

⁴ *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, Canto I, v. 74.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff. The inscription does not indicate any anarchical state of things as supposed by the editor.

dated Śaka 1008 (A. D. 1087) found at Sitābaldī, a suburb of Nagpur, states that the Rāshṭra-kūṭa Dhādibhaṇḍaka was governing the country as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI¹. Curiously enough this is also the last known date of Udayāditya's reign. When Jagaddēva came to the court of Vikramāditya VI, he seems to have been placed by the latter in charge of Berar and the northern portion of the Nizam's Dominions. As already stated, there is another inscription of his reign, namely that found at Jainad in the Adilābād District of the Nizam's Dominions. Jainad is only 65 miles almost due east of Ḍōṅgargāon.

The territory to the east of the Wardhā river was however soon reconquered by the Paramāras. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription which seems originally to have belonged to Bhāṇḍak in the Chāṇḍā District² mentions that Lakshmadēva, the son and successor of Udayāditya, endowed a temple, evidently at Bhāṇḍak, with the gift of two villages. The surrounding country continued in the possession of Naravarman, the brother and successor of Lakshmadēva, as the Nagpur Museum stone inscription belongs to his reign. It is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1161 (A.D. 1104-5), i.e., about eight years before the present inscription of Jagaddēva's reign.

From other records also we know that Jagaddēva was an ally of Vikramāditya and took an active part in his military campaigns. Mērutuṅga states that Jagaddēva, though honoured by Siddha (i.e., Siddharāja Jayasīṃha of Gujarāt), was earnestly invited by the glorious king Paramardin and so he went to the country of Kuntala.³ It is well known that Paramardin was a *biruda* of Vikramāditya VI. The Jainad inscription mentions Jagaddēva's victories in Āṇḍhra, Chakradurga and Dōrasamudra which were evidently won in the cause of Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddēva's invasion of Dōrasamudra is attested to by Hoysala inscriptions also. We are told that the Emperor (Vikramāditya VI) sent Jagaddēva at the head of a large Chālukya army to invade the Hoysala country.⁴ He penetrated as far as Dōrasamudra, the Hoysala capital, but was there defeated by Ballāla I, Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya, the valiant sons of the Hoysala king Ereyāṅga.

The self-abnegation, chivalry and liberality of Jagaddēva made him far-famed. 'There is no country, village, world or assembly where Jagaddēva's fame is not sung day and night,' says the present inscription. That this is not an altogether empty praise is shown by the numerous tales about his bravery and munificence which are recorded by Gujarāt chronicles.⁵ The *subhāshita* No. 1261 in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* seems to praise the liberality of this very Jagaddēva.

According to the *Rās Mālā* Jagaddēva lived to the age of eighty-five. Before his death he is said to have placed his son Jagaddhavalā on the throne, but no records of his reign have yet come to light. The Paramāras, however, continued to hold parts of the Central Provinces long after the time of Jagaddēva. Their capital was Chāhanda which is probably identical with Chāṇḍā, the chief town of the Chāṇḍā District of the Central Provinces. Two stone inscriptions⁶ found at Ambā near Mōminābād in the Bhīr District of the Nizam's Dominions mention a Paramāra king named Bhōja,⁷ the ruler of Chāhanda, who was defeated by Khōlēsvara, the

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 304 ff.

² Hirālāl thought that the inscription originally belonged to Bilhāri, but this is incorrect. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 117, n. 5. As I have shown there, some of the places mentioned in it can be identified in the Chāṇḍā District.

³ *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Tawney's tr., p. 186.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

⁵ See, e.g., *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, pp. 186 ff.

⁶ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

⁷ This Bhōja is different from the homonymous Śilāhāra prince, the ruler of Kolhāpur, who was overthrown by Singhapa. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 524.

Left side.



Right side.



general of the Yādava Emperor Siṅghaṇa. One of these inscriptions is dated Śaka 1150 (A.D. 1228-29). Another stone inscription written in old Marāṭhī has been discovered at Bhāṇḍak (called Bhadrapura therein), now a village 16 miles north-west of Chāṇḍā. It records the *jīrṇōddhāra* (renovation) of a temple dedicated to Nāga-Nārāyaṇa. The name of the Rājā Pavāra (Paramāra) who was ruling there is now illegible. The inscription contained a date in the Śaka era, but the last two figures of it are now lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right hand corner of the stone. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally read it as 1308.¹ This is the last record of the Paramāras found in the Central Provinces and Berar.

There is only one place-name in the present inscription, viz., Ḍōṅgaragrāma which is plainly identical with Ḍōṅgargaon where the inscription has been found.

TEXT.²

- 1 [ओ³] नमः शिवाय । कुर्वन्वः पातु जगतां प्रभवस्थितिमङ्गि(हृ)तोः । तिस्रः
 ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ विश्वं यत्र [सु]वर्त्तकः⁴ । १। अस्यवृ(वृ)द इति ख्यातः
 प्रतीच्यां दिशि पर्वतः मेखलाद्यन्तसंचारिकूर्मराजदिवाकरः । २। कामधेनुं
 [हृतवर्ते]
- 2 विश्वामिचाय कुप्यतः । वसिष्ठात्तत्र होमाग्नौ परमारी व्यजायत । ३। तद्वन्ने⁵
 क्षत्रचरितैः पुष्प(ष्य)वन्तान्वयाधिके । बभूव भोजदेवाख्यो राजा रामसमी
 गुणैः । ४। ततो रिपुत्रयस्कन्दैर्मग्नां मालव[मिदिनीम्] । ५-
- 3 हरद्वयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवहृत । ६। यस्याच्छया दिशाः कीर्त्या भुवनानि
 परैर्गुहाः । [काष्ठाः] परा व(व)लादेव काव्यैर्व्याप्यन्त चार्थितः । ६। तस्य
 सत्स्वपि पुत्रेषु स्वसम्पत्सुतैषिणः । हराराधनतो जज्ञे जगद्देवो म[ही]-
- 4 पतिः । ७। दिवं प्रयाते पितरि स्वयं प्राप्तामपि श्रियम् । परिवर्त्तिभयाच्चक्षा
 योऽग्रजाय न्यवेदयत् । ८। पुत्राणाम्प्रथमोऽसि राज्यविषयस्वामी भुजो दक्षिणः
 सर्वास्वेव हरिस्तु जङ्गम [इ]-
- 5 यत्सीमा जयो मूर्तिमान् । आत्मैवेति च सप्रसादमुदितो यः कुन्तलक्ष्माभृता
 ताद्रूप्यन्दधेव दक्षिणदिशालङ्कारतां पुष्यति⁶ । ९। अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनो यस्मिन्वा(न्वा)णैः
 स्वर्णैश्च वर्षति । दैन्यसैन्य[निधिं] मुक्ता — —⁷

¹ In his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* Hiralal gives the date as Friday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣha in the Śaka year 13[08] bearing the name Kṣhaya which he says corresponds to Friday, the 10th November A.D. 1386. But my personal examination of the stone has shown that the reading is incorrect in one respect, viz., that the *tithi* was of the *bright* fortnight. The date, if the reading of the year is correct, would correspond to Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1386.

² From inked estampages.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre of verses 1—8 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Read तद्वन्ने.

⁶ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Read तस्य —,

- 6 [ङ्कि]तमुपासते¹ १२०। न स देशो न स ग्रामो न स लोको न सा सभा ।
न तन्नक्तं दिवं यत्र जगद्देवो न गीयते १२१। आचन्द्रार्कं शासनीकृत्य तेन
क्षमापालेन श्रीजगद्देवनाम्ना । पु[ण्डा]रं² डोङ्करग्रामनामा ग्रामो दत्तः
श्रीनि[वा]सद्वि-
- 7 जाय³ १२२। तद्वत्तडोङ्करग्रामे श्रीनिधेः[.] श्रेयसां निधेः । विद्यावृत्तनिवासेन
श्रीनिवासेन [सू]नुना⁴ १२३। पितुः पुण्योदयायैतत्कारितं शिवमन्दिरम् ।
आकल्पं कल्पतां भूमेर्भूषणाय निरत्ययम् १२४। अत्र देवाय ग्रामे[स्त्रि]न्यश्च
[श्रीनिवासप्रह्नि-?]
- 8 [व्याघातं] कृत्वातिक्षिप्य —⁵ यो हर्तुमिच्छति स पञ्चमहापातकैर्लिप्यते । शकसंवत्
१०३४ नन्दनसंवत्सरे चैत्र्यां शासनं लिखितमिति । लेखको विश्वस्वा[मी]
[1*] १०३४ तथाके १५ [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Salutation to Śiva !

(Verse 1) May Śiva, causing the three states of the creation, maintenance and destruction of the worlds.....protect you !

(V. 2) In the western quarter there is a mountain known as Arbuda, round the girdle (i.e., the middle part) of which from one end to the other revolve the lord of tortoises⁶ and the sun.

(V. 3) Through Vasishṭha who became angry with Viśvāmitra who had taken away (his) *kāmadhēnu* (cow of plenty), there was born Paramāra from the sacrificial fire on that (mountain).

(V. 4) In his family which by its heroic deeds surpassed the races of the sun and the moon⁷ there was born a king named **Bhōja** who resembled Rāma in excellences.

(V. 5) After (him) there flourished his brother **Udayāditya** who uplifted the earth which had sunk under the attacks of three enemies.

(V. 6) The quarters and worlds were perforce occupied by his pure fame, the caverns by his enemies and the farthest directions by the poems of his supplicants.

(V. 7) To him who, though he had (several) sons, desired to have (another) son after his heart, was born the king **Jagaddēva** through (his) devotion to Hara.

¹ Metre of verses 10 and 11 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Read पुण्डाधारी.

³ Metre : *Śālinī*.

⁴ Metre of verses 13 and 14 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ One *akshara* is illegible here. [The text form अत्र देवाय to हर्तुमिच्छति seems also to be in verse.—Ed.]

⁶ I.e. Viṣṇu in his tortoise incarnation.

⁷ *Pushpavanta* means both the sun and the moon, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 60.

(V. 8) When his father went to heaven, he, renouncing for fear of (*incurring the sin of*) *parivitti*¹ Royal Fortune who had offered herself to him, presented her to his elder brother.

(V. 9) 'You are the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, such a victory incarnate in all regions, (*may*), my very self'—He who was thus graciously addressed by the lord of Kuntala, is adorning the southern direction, having attained that very position.

(V. 10) When he showers gold and arrows on (*his*) supplicants and enemies, they giving up their treasure of poverty and forces (*respectively*), wait upon him without any apprehension.

(V. 11) There is not that country, that village, that community, that assembly (*or*) that (*place*) where Jagaddēva is not praised day and night.

(V. 12) That king, named the illustrious **Jagaddēva**, has granted by means of a charter (*and*) as a source of religious merit, the village **Ḍoṅgaragrāma** to the Brāhmaṇa Śrīnivāsa (*to be enjoyed by him*) as long as the moon and the sun will endure.

(Vv. 13-14) In that **Ḍoṅgaragrāma** granted by him, Śrīnivāsa, the abode of learning and character, (*who*) is the son of Śrīnidhi, the store of blessings, has caused (*this*) temple of Śiva to be constructed for the attainment of religious merit by (*his*) father. May it, faultless as it is, serve to adorn the earth until (*the time of*) world-destruction.

(Lines 7-8) He who would desire to appropriate after causing obstruction and snatching away what has been given by Śrīnivāsa to the god in this village, would be contaminated by the five great sins!

In the **Śaka year 1034**, the cyclic year Nandana, on the full-moon day of Chaitra, this charter has been written. The scribe is Viśvasvāmin. (*In the year*) 1034 (*on the fifteenth tithi of Chaitra*), also in figures 15.

No. 27.—SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The six copper-plate grants, which I am editing here, were discovered early in 1936 near **Ghumli** in the Nawanagar State of Kathiawar in the course of digging on the road side. They were briefly noticed by the Government Epigraphist for India in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1936-37, pp. 102-05. M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has published their text along with brief notes in his *Report on the Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly sent to me a good set of the ink-impressions of these plates with a request to edit them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, made to me a number of valuable suggestions in connection with the present paper, which have been incorporated in it. I am grateful to him for his kind help.

The twelve copper-plates found at Ghumli contain the six records edited here, A consisting of three plates, C of one, and B, D, E, and F of two each. All of them record grants made by the rulers of the **Saindhava** family, which is at present known to have been ruling at ancient **Bhūtāmbilikā** or modern Ghumli from c. 740 to 920 A. D. The original name of the capital, which is uniformly spelt as Bhūtāmbilikā in our records, used to be popularly

¹ I.e. marrying before an elder brother marries. A man who did so was believed to go to hell.

contracted into Bhūmilikā, as shown by the Dhīniki plates of Jāikadēva.¹ Bhūmilikā was later on contracted into Bhumli, and the present name Ghumli is a mere variant of it.

As very little is known at present about the history of the Saindhavas of Ghumli, it will be convenient to discuss it here in a connected manner in the light of the valuable information supplied by the present six charters and other contemporary epigraphs. This will obviate the necessity of repetition, while editing the different charters. The dynasty was ruling in Western Kāthiāwār, with its capital at Bhūtāmbilikā or Ghumli, which is situated about 25 miles north-east of Porbandar in a gorge of the Barda hills. Though once the capital of a fairly prosperous dynasty for about two centuries, its present site is nothing but a heap of ruins. All is now a jungle, where once a multitude of human beings resided. Very little remains at present as evidence of its former glory save a few remnants of a royal palace, a huge image of Hanumān with a large bathing reservoir by its side and some ruins of insignificant temples². To judge from the present ruins, ancient Bhūtāmbilikā was about a mile in length and about half a mile in breadth. Its population may, therefore, have been about 15,000. The ground-plan of the town resembles a widespread fan. The ramparts of the town were strong and massive and were surrounded by a deep ditch.

Before the discovery of the present plates, very little was known about the Saindhavas of Saurāshṭra. The earliest reference to them is in a grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya ruler Pulakēśi Janāśraya, dated in the year 490 of the Traikūṭaka era, corresponding to A. D. 738-9, where they are mentioned among the kings defeated in the Arab raid that was repulsed at Naosari by the Chālukyas³. The next reference to them is in the Gwalior *Prasasti* of Bhōjadēva, the 8th verse of which describes the Saindhavas as being overwhelmed by the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa⁴. Nothing, however, was known about the precise locality of the Saindhava kingdom or the history and achievements of any particular ruler of the house. The Morbi plate, issued by king Jāika whom we can now assign to this dynasty, was known,⁵ but as the plate recovered was the second one of the set, it could not be ascertained to which dynasty the grantor belonged.

The discovery of the present copper-plates now enables us to state definitely that the Saindhavas, who are referred to in the above records, were ruling in Western Kāthiāwār. Charter F of the present set, issued by Jāika II in Gupta Era 596 or A.D. 915-6 gives us the longest genealogy of the family. According to it, king Pushyadēva, who flourished seven generations earlier, was its founder. The name of the family is given here as *Jayadratha-vamśa* (l. 2). All the other charters, however, state that *Saindhava* was the name of the family. This discrepancy can be easily explained. According to the *Mahābhārata* king Jayadratha, the son-in-law of Dhṛitarāshṭra, was a ruler of the *Sindhu-dēśa* or Sindh. So those rulers who claimed descent from him could be described both as hailing from Sindh (Saindhava) and as ornaments of the Jayadratha family (*Jayadratha-vamśa-śekhara*). In the earlier charters the first name is preferred, while in the latest one, the last one is introduced. The reason for this is not far to seek. As will be shown presently, Pushyadēva was probably an immigrant in Kāthiāwār from Sindh; so though he himself claimed to be descended from Jayadratha, he was known to his contemporaries as a Saindhava ruler. This name, therefore, was long in vogue. Later on when the tendency to claim an origin from a Puranic hero became quite

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 155.

² *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, (1839), pp. 73-80.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 109.

⁴ *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 281.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8.

common in the 9th and 10th centuries, Jāika II reverted to the original name of the family, viz., *Jayadratha-vamśa*.

The time of Pushyadēva, the earliest ruler of the dynasty, can be only approximately determined. His grandson's great-grandson has issued Charter A in G. E. 513 (A. D. 832-3); he may, therefore, be presumed to have ruled from c. G. E. 415 to 435 (c. A. D. 734—754).¹

We have now to consider the question whether this Pushyadēva is to be identified with the chief **Pushyēṇa** whose clay seal was found at Wala (ancient Valabhī) in Kāthiāwār. The legend on this seal reads as follows:—

- 1 *Ā Jayadrathād=avyavachchhinna-rāja-*
- 2 *vaṁśasya śrīr=mmahā [r]āj-Ā[h]ivarma[ṇah]*
- 3 *sūnō[r]=mahārāja-mahā[sēnā-]*
- 4 *pati-Pushyēṇa[sya]*²

It will be seen from the above legend that the seal belonged to *Mahārāja Mahā[sēnā]pati Pushyēṇa*, son of *Mahārāja Ahivarman*, who claimed an uninterrupted descent from Jayadratha. Pushyadēva, the founder of the dynasty which has issued the present charters, is also described as an ornament of the Jayadratha family in Charter F. The name Pushyadēva of our charter is merely a paraphrase of the name Pushyēṇa of the seal, as both the terms *ina* and *dēva* indicate a lord or a king in Sanskrit. The variation in the spelling of the name need not therefore be regarded as throwing any impediment in the way of the proposed identification. Just as we have common variations like Gōvindadēva and Gōvindarāja we may as well have parallel forms like Pushyadēva and Pushyēṇa, as both *dēva* and *ina* denote a ruler.

As against the proposed identification it is possible to argue that the characters of the seal of Pushyēṇa are somewhat earlier than those of the middle of the 8th century A. D., which is the probable time of Pushyadēva. There is some force in this argument; especially the *mātrā* for medial *ā* would undoubtedly suggest that the record belongs to the 6th century A. D. Letters *ma*, *na* and *ha* on the seal, however, show a form which is seen to be current in the Valabhī records of the middle of the 8th century A. D. The *mātrās* for medial *ā* may therefore be instances of the survival of archaic forms, which we very often meet with in ancient Indian palæography. It is not impossible that Pushyēṇa may have selected these archaic *mātrās* to render forgery difficult. All things considered, it therefore looks very probable, though not absolutely certain, that *Jayadratha-vamśa-sēkhara* Pushyadēva, the founder of the Saindhava house, is identical with Pushyēṇa of the Wala seal, who claimed an unbroken descent for his family from Jayadratha. The legend of the seal is in some places defective, but if the restoration proposed by Bühler is correct, it would appear that like many other founders of ruling families, Pushyadēva began his career as a general and ended by founding a feudatory principality. He seems to have been a feudatory of the Maitrakas of Valabhī. The same was probably the case with his son Krishṇarāja, at least during the first half of his reign.

According to tradition, Bhūtāmbilikā, i.e. Ghumli, where the present plates were discovered, was the old capital of the Jēṭhvā Rājput̃s, whose present representatives are the Rāṇās of Porbandar. There are various theories in the field about the origin of the term Jēṭhvā. Dr. Wilson has traced the origin of the name to the term **Jāṭ**, and has suggested tribal consanguinity between the Jāṭs and Jēṭhvās.³ Jackson thinks that the Jēṭhvās are very probably

¹ See the genealogical table on p. 196.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 145; see also *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 274-5.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 145.

descended from the White Huns ; he holds that the term Jeṭhvā is probably derived from **Yetha**, the shortened Chinese form of Ye-ta-i-li-to or Ephthalite, which was the name of the ruling class of the White Huns.¹ According to the bardic tradition, the clan has derived its name from **Jeṭha**, the 95th ruler in the traditional genealogy of the rulers of Porbandar.² M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker thinks that the Jeṭhvās were so called because they represented the senior branch of the Saindhavas of these grants. In support of this view he points out how charters A and B prove the supersession of the senior line of Kṛishṇarāja by the junior branch of Jāika I and observes : ' The descendants of Jāika as coming to the throne of Bhūmli were probably called Bhūmliās and the descendants of Kṛishṇarāja, who was *ḡyēshṭha*, were called Jeṭhvās '.³

That all the above theories about the origin of the Jeṭhvās are fanciful and untenable can now be conclusively proved. The description of the founder of our house as the crest-jewel of the Jayadratha family and the claim made in the legend on his seal that he was directly descended from Jayadratha make it clear that the rulers of Porbandar eventually came to be known as **Jeṭhvās**, not because they belonged to any foreign stock like that of the White Huns or Jāts or represented the senior line of the Saindhavas, **but because they claimed the epic hero Jayadratha as the founder of their family**. Sanskrit Jayadratha becomes Jeṭha in Prākṛit through the intermediate forms Jairath and Jaiath. *Vā* was added at the end of the term Jeṭha under the influence of the ' quantity law ' of phonetics.

The theory of their descent from Jayadratha is, however, quite unknown to the modern Jeṭhvās, whose present representatives, the Rāṇās of Porbandar, trace their origin to Hanumān, the famous hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanumān also is the emblem on their flag.

The emblem of the Saindhavas of Bhūtāmbilikā is, however, fish. This was but natural also ; they claimed to be the masters of the western ocean and so must have proudly claimed fish to be their emblem, as did their contemporaries the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south. The difference in the seal emblems however need not go against the well established tradition that the Jeṭhvās of Porbandar originally hailed from Bhūtāmbilikā. The emblem on the seal or banner may have changed in later times. That the Jeṭhvās also had once fish or *makara* as their emblem on their banner would appear very probable from the fact that in their genealogy Makaradhvaja figures immediately after Hanumān, the founder of the family. This mysterious personage, Makaradhvaja, appears so early in their genealogy simply because Makara or fish was on their *dhvaja* or banner in early times, as Hanumān was in later days. The change of the emblem from fish to Hanumān may have been due to the Jeṭhvās becoming in later times the devotees of Rāma and his faithful servant Hanumān. That in early medieval times the kings of Bhūtāmbilikā venerated Hanumān along with Makara is rendered very probable, as pointed out by Bühler, by the circumstance that on the brackets of one of the ruined temples at Ghumli, the monkey emblem appears side by side with that of the fish.⁴ Further support is lent to this view by the presence of a huge image of Hanumān near the remnants of the old palace in the ruins of Ghumli. In later times when the sea voyage became forbidden and the Jeṭhvās lost their command over the sea, the figure of Hanumān must have begun to appeal to them more than that of the fish. This must have led to the eventual abandonment of the fish emblem. During the period of our charters, however, the fish emblem was the only emblem of the dynasty ; it invariably appears in the case of each of our five complete sets of copper-plates either on the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* ; Vol. VIII—*Kāthiāwār*, pp. 621-2.

³ M. M. Shastri, *The Report on the Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, p. 6.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 153.

seal or at the end of the last plate. It also appears at the end of the genuine Morbi and the spurious Dhīnīki plates of king Jāika, who belonged to the same house.¹

We have seen above that Pushyadēva, the founder of the Saindhava dynasty, flourished between c. 515 and 535 G. E. (c. 734 and 754 A. D.). He began his career as a military commander and ended by founding a feudatory family. Though he claimed to belong to Jayadratha family, he and his descendants were generally known as Saindhavas, probably because they were among the emigrants from Sindh who had to leave that province after its conquest by the Arabs in 712 A.D.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya ruler Pulakēśi Janāśraya, dated in the year 490 of the Traikūṭaka era (A.D. 738-9), describes an Arab raid that had just then taken place and shows how it had overpowered the Saindhava, Kachchha, Saurāshṭra, Chāpa and Gurjara chiefs.² It is almost certain that the Saindhavas who are mentioned here have to be identified with the family of our charters, whose founder Pushyadēva was at that time just trying to settle down in some northern corner of Kāthiāwār. The chief who suffered from the Arab raid was probably Pushyadēva himself, as the approximate period of his reign is A.D. 734-754.

The Saindhavas were at that time mere feudatories as their own charters, as well as those of their contemporaries, would clearly show. They could therefore hardly have dreamt of claiming for themselves any imperial position or titles; in fact they never claimed these at any time in their career. And yet the Dhīnīki plates, purporting to be issued in *Samvat* 794 (A.D. 738) refer to their grantor, king Jāikadēva, as an imperial ruler enjoying the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.³ This Jāikadēva was no doubt intended to be a Saindhava chief, for his capital was Bhūmilikā and seal emblem the fish. The long genealogy of the Saindhavas given in Charter F reaches back to the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. but knows of no chief named Jāikadēva ruling at that time. **It is therefore clear that the Dhīnīki grant is a forgery**; this conclusion is also supported by some other circumstances like the palæography of the plates and the non-occurrence of the eclipse on the date given in the plates. The data of the Dhīnīki plates therefore cannot cast any doubt on the conclusion above arrived at, *viz.* at c. 740 A.D. Pushyadēva and not Jāikadēva was the ruling Saindhava king, and that he was a mere feudatory.

Pushyadēva or Pushyēṇa was succeeded by his son **Kṛishṇarāja** and the latter by his son **Agguka I**, whose rule may be approximately placed in the periods from 435 to 455 G. E. (A.D. 754 to 774) and from 455 to 475 G. E. (A.D. 774 to 794) respectively. During the reigns of these two monarchs also, Kāthiāwār suffered a good deal from Arab invasions. As these were naval invasions coming direct from Sindh, and as the Saindhavas were in those days the leading Hindu naval power of Kāthiāwār, they must have borne the brunt of attack. It must be said to their credit that they eventually came out victorious from the struggle and did not succumb to it like the Maitrakas of Valabhī. In c. 760 A.D. Hasham, the governor of Sindh, sent Amrū bin Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada and the invasion was repeated 20 years later. The Muslim historians tell us that though the last expedition succeeded in capturing the town of Barada, sickness swept away a great portion of the army and the remaining were swept away in a shipwreck on the coast of Persia. The experience was so bitter that, we are told, the Muslims were deterred from making further attempts at aggrandisement in that direction.⁴

¹ [It may be recalled that the emblem on Jayadratha's banner was a boar, *varāha*.—B. C. C.]

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 109.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 151.

⁴ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 444. There is some doubt about the spelling of the name of the place attacked but Dowson feels satisfied that the spelling is really Barada.

The town of Barada attacked by the Muslims may have been either the village Bardia, which is ten miles to the north-west of Porbandar, or Bhūtāmbilikā itself, which is situated in the vicinity of the Barada hills. From the Muslim version of the expedition it appears that though the Muslims were successful in the beginning, they had eventually to leave the country. For aught we know, the sickness of the army may have been as much responsible for this evacuation as the bravery of the Saindhava defenders. It is really a pity that Charters A and B, which take the genealogy back to the time of Agguka I, should have indulged in merely a general description of his bravery, instead of giving us a vivid account of this definite historic achievement. In Charter F, however, we have a vague reference to the repulsing of the Muslim invasion, when we are told that Agguka showed the greatness of Varāha when he easily rescued his country, which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies (ll. 4-5). The naval supremacy of the Saindhavas, to which five of our charters expressly refer, must have been of great help to them in driving back the Arabs. This achievement of theirs was indeed noteworthy, when we remember the modest size of their principality.

Agguka I was succeeded by his son **Rāṇaka**, who may be presumed to have ruled from c. G. E. 475 to 495 (A. D. 794 to 814). M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has attributed Charter C (his Plate A) to this ruler; it will, however, be shown in the introduction to that plate how this attribution is untenable. We have so far recovered no grant given by this ruler.

No contemporary grants of the first four rulers of the Saindhava family have so far been recovered, but there is no doubt that they were mere feudatories as stated above. The epithet *Apara-Saṁśṛāmaṇḍala-maṇḍana* used in connection with the members of this family in most of its genuine records shows that its sphere of influence never extended much beyond Western Kāthiawār. It would, however, appear that they had developed considerable naval strength, for our charters invariably describe them as the masters of the Western Ocean. The Mers, who were prominent among the subjects of the Saindhavas, were well known for their maritime activities. Arab historians admit that they were a great maritime power in Kāthiawār during the 8th and the 9th centuries.¹ They must obviously have enabled their rulers, the Saindhavas, to rule the Western Ocean. The title *Apara-samudrādhipati* taken in all our complete charters by the Saindhavas is therefore no empty boast. In seeking to retain the command over the seas, the Saindhavas had shown a foresight evinced by few rulers of ancient India.

Two sons of king Rāṇaka figure in Charters A and B. Of these **Kṛishṇarāja II** was the elder and **Jāika I** was the younger. They were half-brothers, for Jāika is expressly described as a *vaimātrō bhrātā* in Charter A. Kṛishṇarāja II succeeded his father in due course in c. 495 G. E. (A. D. 814). A large number of florid epithets have been used to describe his glory and valour in Charter A and one or two of them undoubtedly refer to some contemporary political events. He is described as full of enthusiasm in troubling the host of his enemies, the Chāpins, in l. 15 of Charter A. The same observation has been made in almost identical words about his younger brother Jāika I and the latter's two sons, kings Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka. These four rulers were ruling from c. 814 to 874 A. D., as will be shown,² and they all seem to have been at war with the Chāpins or the Chāpas. There were two Chāpa families ruling in Northern Gujarāt and North-east Kāthiawār at this time. The one founded by Vanarāja was ruling at Anahilapaṭṭana since c. 765 A. D., while the other to which king Dharapivarāha of the Haddālā plates of the Śaka year 836 belonged, was ruling at Wadhwan since c. 850 A. D. Since in all our records the Saindhavas describe themselves as the lords of Western Saurāshṭra

¹ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 114 and pp. 519-31.

² See the genealogical and chronological table, p. 196.

only, it is almost certain that the Chāpa enemies of kings Chāmunda and Agguka (c. 849 to 874 A. D.) were Chāpa kings Vikramārka and Adṛaka of Wadhwan, who were the great-grandfather and grandfather respectively of king Dharaṇivarāha. If there were no ancestors of Vikramārka ruling at Wadhwan before his time, then the Chapa enemies of Kṛishṇarāja II and his brother Jāika I, who ruled from c. 814 to 849 A. D., would be Chāpa rulers Yōgarāja and Ratnāditya of the Anahilapaṭṭana dynasty, who were ruling during the first half of the 9th century A. D.¹ The fact that as many as four successive Saindhava kings are seen to be at war with the Chāpas would show that there was a hereditary feud between these two neighbouring dynasties, as was the case between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas or between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pratihāras. The fights, however, must have been mostly of the nature of frontier skirmishes.

Charter A describes king Kṛishṇarāja II as a ruler who had, like Bharata propitiated Rāma by his steady and proper behaviour (I. 15). This statement has also been made with reference to his brother Jāika I and the latter's son Agguka in Charters B and D. It is almost certain that a *double entendre* is intended to be conveyed by the expression *Bharata iv=āchalad-uchita-samārādhitā-Rāmaḥ*. The identity of king Rāma to whom kings Kṛishṇarāja and Jāika I had shown unswerving loyalty is not difficult to find out. These rulers were ruling from c. 814 to 849 A. D., as will presently be shown; the overlord to whom they were devotedly loyal must be the **Pratihāra emperor Rāmabhadra**, who ruled from c. 833 to 836 A. D. From the 8th verse in the Gwalior *prastāvi* of Pratihāra Bhōja I we learn that the Saindhavas were among the rulers signally defeated by the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II,² who is known to have ruled from c. 805 to 833 A. D. The Saindhava kings, who must have felt the brunt of the rising Pratihāra power under Nāgabhaṭa II, must have been Rāpaka I (c. 794 to 814 A. D.), Kṛishṇarāja II (c. 814 to 824 A. D.), and his younger brother Jāika I (c. 824 to 849 A. D.).³ It would appear that the campaign in Kāthiāwār was entrusted by Nāgabhaṭa II to the crown-prince Rāmabhadra, who, on its successful termination, seems to have been appointed Viceroy over the western provinces by his father Nāgabhaṭa. After their defeat by the Pratihāras, Kṛishṇarāja II and Jāika I appear to have remained loyal to the royal Viceroy Rāmabhadra and are, therefore, fittingly described as propitiating Rāma by their steady and proper behaviour. This statement has been made also in connection with Agguka, son of Jāika I, in Charter D, though he was not a contemporary of Rāmabhadra either as a crown-prince or as an emperor, the period of his reign being c. A. D. 849 to 869.⁴ It is, however, not difficult to explain how this mistake has taken place. In our present set of charters, a number of epithets have been bodily transferred from one ruler to another in several places. The use of *Bharata iv=āchalad-uchita-samārādhitā-Rāmaḥ* in the case of Agguka would be an illustration of this tendency.

From the time of Kṛishṇarāja II (c. 820 A. D.), the Saindhavas became the feudatories of the Pratihāras as shown above. The Pratihāras, however, were not able to exercise the same rigorous control over their administration as they had imposed upon the government of many of their other feudatories. The Ūnā plates of Balavarman⁵ show that the members of the feudatory Chālukya house, which was ruling contemporaneously with the Saindhavas as a feudatory of the Pratihāras in Southern Kāthiāwār, could not make any land-grants without the consent of the officers of the imperial government. The grant of Dharaṇivarāha,⁶ who was ruling as a Pratihāra feudatory at Wadhwan in Northern Kāthiāwār, shows that he did

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, P. 193.

² *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 280.

³ During the reign period here assigned to Jāika I, the period of his regency is also included.

⁴ See below p. 194.

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 193.

not or perhaps dared not omit to mention the name of his feudal lord, Mahēndrapāla, through whose favour he was enjoying his principality. All the Saindhava grants, including the Morbi plate of Jāikadēva, have, however, been issued without any permission, express or implied, of the imperial power or its local representatives. The *dūtaka* of Charter B is no doubt an officer named Pratihāra Kṛishṇa. There is nothing to indicate that he was a local representative of the imperial power. The utmost that can possibly be said is that he may have belonged to the same ethnic stock to which the Pratihāra emperors belonged. He was, however, no doubt an officer serving under Jāika I and executing his orders. He owed no allegiance to the Pratihāras, nor was he responsible to them like Dhūika of the Ūnā plates, who is found signing the charter of the feudatory king Balavarman on behalf of his imperial master.¹ Probably Kṛishṇa, the *dūtaka*, was holding the office of the *Pratihāra* (chamberlain) in the royal court, as was the case with many other *dūtakas*.²

It is also worth noting that if we leave the veiled reference to their loyalty to emperor Rāmaphadra, the Saindhavas nowhere acknowledge the Pratihāras as their overlords. When however we remember that eastern, southern and northern Kāthiāwār was under the suzerainty of the Pratihāras from the time of Nāgabhaṭa II to that of Mahēndrapāla, when we note how the Pratihāras claim to have defeated the Saindhavas, and when due allowance is made for the fact that the Saindhavas never claim to be anything more than mere feudatories, the conclusion becomes irresistible that their overlords were no other rulers than the imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj even during the latter half of the 9th century and onwards. They were, however, able and clever enough to secure for themselves a much larger share of internal autonomy than was ever conceded to their eastern and southern neighbours. The valuable assistance which the Saindhava navy could give to the Pratihāras in their struggles with the Arabs was probably the main reason for this preferential treatment.

Let us resume our account of the reign of Kṛishṇarāja II. He is described in Charter A as ridiculing Duryōdhana and drinking the blood of Duśśāsana like Bhīma. It is possible that here also there may be a pun and a veiled reference to Kṛishṇarāja's fight with some real historical kings named Duryōdhana and Duśśāsana, hitherto unknown to us. This, however, is not very probable; for the expression showing comparison to Bhīma has been used also with reference to Jāika I in Charter B, Agguka in Charter D and Chāmuṇḍa in Charter E. All these kings could not have fought with the same rulers Duryōdhana and Duśśāsana. It is therefore very improbable that any historic events lie concealed in the above comparisons.

Kṛishṇarāja is further described as a ruler who had pleased the inhabitants of Parvata, and who therefore resembled Śaṅkara, who was a source of delight to the relations of (Himālaya) Parvata (mountain). The expression containing the above description has been used with reference to three other rulers, Jāika I and his sons Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka. The inhabitants of the mountainous regions who were pleased with these four rulers were obviously the residents of the territory round about the Barada hills, in the vicinity of which Bhūtāmbilikā, the Saindhava capital, was situated. It is therefore clear that this city had become the Saindhava capital at least as early as the reign of Kṛishṇarāja I (c. 820 A.D.). Unless we assume that the draftsman of Charter F is guilty of anachronism, we shall have to concede that Bhūtāmbilikā was the Saindhava capital even as early as the time of Pushyadēva, for he has been described in that Charter as *Bhūtāmbilik-ābhidhāna-nagari-gariyāḥ*, etc. (l. 1).

The tradition represents the Jethvās as ruling at Morbi before they were established at Ghumli. Our charters are however silent on the point. Nor does the Morbi plate of Jāikadēva

¹ See Balavarman's plates *ante*, Vol. IX, p. 6, text l. 36; see also Avaniarman's plates, *ibid.*, p. 9, text l. 52.

² *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 291, text l. 8., Vol. XIX, p. 304, text l. 27.

support the above tradition. This plate was issued in A.D. 904, that is to say, long after Bhūtāmbilikā had become the Saindhava capital; nor does it state that Morbi was the original home of the Jēthvās. For aught we know, if the first Morbi plate is discovered, it will be found to have been issued from Bhūtāmbilikā like all other Saindhava charters; it may have been taken to Morbi by the donee or his descendants.

Kṛishṇarāja died comparatively young; for Charter A shows that his son and successor **Agguka II** was a young boy at his death, and that the administration had to be carried on by his uncle Jāika. Since this charter is issued in 513 G. E. (A.D. 832-3), and since by that time the plan of usurpation of Jāika was almost complete, we may place the death of Kṛishṇarāja II in c. 505 G. E. (c. 824 A.D.). He thus had a short reign of about ten years only.

Poor Agguka, the son and successor of Kṛishṇarāja II, shared the usual fate of minor rulers, who have the misfortune of having as their guardians ambitious and unscrupulous uncles. Agguka had such an uncle in Jāika and he was his step-uncle too. In Charter A, ll. 23-24, Jāika no doubt boasts that though Kamalā (Royal Fortune) was anxious to be united to him in preference to Agguka, her rightful lord, he spurned her wily overtures and decided to be the disinterested guardian of his young and inexperienced nephew. This profession however is belied by the indications given by other parts of the charter; he does not give the usual titles of a reigning feudatory to his nephew but takes them for himself. The grant of the village also has been made, not in the name of the minor heir, but in that of the so-called regent himself. In the colophon of the charter, its writer also refers to Jāika, and not to Agguka, as the reigning king. It is therefore clear that the plans of usurpation of Jāika were almost complete when Charter A was issued in A.D. 832-3. The actual usurpation took place before the issue of Charter B, where we find Jāika I mentioning himself as the ruling king, and omitting all reference to his elder brother and his son in the genealogy. This charter is unfortunately not dated, and so we can get only an approximate idea of the time of usurpation. We have already seen that at the time of the issue of Charter A in 513 G. E. the usurpation was almost complete except in name; the actual supersession could not have been delayed probably beyond 515 G. E.

It would appear that Jāika I allowed Agguka to rule as a feudatory under himself after he had usurped the throne, exercising jurisdiction over a portion of his kingdom. For we find Agguka's son **Rāṇaka** issuing the land-grant mentioned in Charter C. Unfortunately this charter is incomplete and so its date is not known. We would not be far wrong if we assume that after his supersession in c. 515 G. E. (835 A. D.), Agguka continued to rule as his uncle's feudatory for another 25 years. His son Rāṇaka may therefore be taken to have ruled from c. 540 to 560 G. E. (c. 859 to 879 A. D.).

Let us now revert to the career of the usurper Jāika I. He and his descendants eventually became the leaders of the Saindhava family. As shown already, he ascended the throne in c. 515 G. E. (c. 834 A. D.). As he succeeded an elder brother and his minor son, he may be presumed to have ruled only for about 15 years, *i.e.*, up to c. 530 G. E. (A. D. 849). As shown already, he continued to remain a loyal feudatory of the Pratihāra emperor Rāmabhadra. In his reign also there were several skirmishes with his eastern neighbours, the Chāpas of Wadhwan.

Jāika I died in c. 849 A. D., leaving behind him two sons, **Chāmunḍarāja** and **Agguka**. Charters D, E and F make it absolutely clear that the little Saindhava kingdom was further subdivided between these brothers on the death of Jāika I. Rāṇaka, a grandson of Jāika I, through his son Agguka, is seen to be issuing Charter D in 555 G. E.; 12 years later, *i.e.*, in 567 G. E., another grandson of Jāika I, named Agguka, through his son Chāmunḍarāja, is found to be giving Charter E. In the genealogy of Charter F issued in 596 G. E., Agguka and Rāṇaka of Charter D are altogether passed over; Jāika I is stated to have been succeeded by his son

Chāmundaṛāja and the latter by his son Agguka III and this last by his son Jāika II. It is therefore clear that both the sons of Jāika I founded separate ruling houses.

Our charters do not make it clear as to which of the two sons of Jāika I was the elder one. It would however appear that Agguka was the younger one, as he and his son are passed over in the genealogy of Charter F. In Charter D Rāṇaka, the grantor, is stated to have been placed upon the throne by his father Agguka in his own lifetime. This may probably be due to Agguka's apprehension that his elder brother may resume his principality after his death.

Since Charter D of king Rāṇaka is issued in 555 G. E. and Charter E of his cousin Agguka in 567 G. E., it is possible to argue that there was no further subdivision of the Saindhava kingdom after the death of Jāika I. Rāṇaka, the grantor of Charter D, may have died soon after that charter was issued in 555 G. E. and may have been succeeded by his uncle Chāmundaṛāja; the latter after a naturally short reign may have been succeeded by his son Agguka, the grantor of Charter E, some time before 567 G. E. As against this view, it may be pointed out that Rāṇaka of Charter D had a grown-up son named Jāika, who was acting as Yuvarāja in 555 G. E. In the normal course of events, therefore, his succession could not have devolved upon his uncle. It is further to be noted that in Charter E issued in 567 G. E. there is a statement made in ll. 5-6 that the Saindhava family had at that time 'numerous branches and leaves', *aparimīta-saṁgha-tara-patra-sūkhā-saṁchaya-sāli*. It is interesting to note that this statement does not occur in the earlier charters of the Saindhava family. It would therefore show, in the light of the further evidence of Charters C and D, that there were at least three branches of the Saindhava family ruling in Western Kāthiāwār during the third quarter of the 9th century A. D. The Saindhava kingdom was no doubt a small one, but this tripartite division need not only on that account be pronounced as improbable, as the example of the Paṭvardhans ruling in the Southern Marāṭhā Country at present would show. The small patrimony of this Sardar family of the Peshwas, hardly equal to a normal district in British India, has been divided into four petty kingdoms of Sangli, Miraj, Mirajmalā, and Kurundwād.

Members of all the three Saindhava houses are seen to be issuing their grants from Bhūtāmbilikā. Though there is some evidence of mutual jealousy, we do not find them fighting with one another. It would therefore appear that they were all staying at Bhūtāmbilikā, their ancestral capital, but ruling over different parts of their ancestral kingdom, more like members of a federation than as rulers of separate states. Our charters supply some evidence about the manner in which the ancestral territories were divided among the three branches, but it is very difficult to interpret. Charter C would show that the district of **Pachchhatrī** was under the seniormost branch of Kṛishṇarāja,¹ while Charter D would indicate that the district of **Suvarṇa-maṇjarī** was allotted to the juniormost branch of Agguka.² But Charters B, E, and F show that both the above districts were included in the kingdom of the branch founded by Jāika I. We can reconcile these conflicting statements only by assuming that the seniormost and juniormost branches were ruling not over the whole but part of the two districts mentioned above, and that the leading family founded by Jāika I held sway over portions of both of them.

Let us now resume the history of the family. It will be convenient to finish first the account of the **juniormost branch of Agguka**. This ruler succeeded his father Jāika I in c. 530 G. E. (c. 849 A.D.); his reign may therefore be placed between 530 and 550 G. E. (c. 849-869 A.D.). In Charter D issued by his son Rāṇaka, this ruler has been described in adjectives which have been used for his predecessors in earlier grants; they therefore do not enable us to get a clear idea of his personality or achievements.

¹ Cf. the expression : *yathā mayā sva-bhujyamāna-Pachchhatrī-vishay-āntaḥpāti* in Charter C, l. 18.

² Cf. the expression : *yathā mayā sva-bhujyamāna-Suvarṇamaṇjarī-vishaya* in Charter D, ll. 27-8.

Agguka was succeeded by his son **Rāṇaka**. His copper-plate grant, Charter D of our series, has been issued in 555 G. E. (A. D. 874-5). We may therefore place his reign between c. 550 G. E. and 570 G. E. (c. 869-889 A. D.). From his charter we learn that his father had abdicated in his favour and participated in his coronation himself. The probable implication of this statement has been already discussed on the preceding page. The description of this ruler in Charter D does not enable us to form any opinion about his achievements, as it is all conventional. Nor does it throw any light on contemporary history.

Already in 555 G. E. (A. D. 874-5) Rāṇaka had a grown-up Yuvarāja named Jāika who figures as the *dūtaka* of Charter D. It is not known whether this prince succeeded his father. His name has been omitted in the long genealogy given in Charter F issued in 596 G. E., but that may be due to his having belonged to a collateral branch. There are no indications of the independent existence of this branch having come to an end with Rāṇaka, and we may therefore well assume that the crown prince Jāika of Charter D ruled from c. 570 to 590 G. E. (A. D. 889-909).

Let us now resume the history of **main Saindhava branch**, which was continued by **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, the eldest son of Jāika I. This ruler may be presumed to have ruled from c. 530 to 555 G. E. (c. 849 to 874 A.D.). Charters E and F describe this ruler; his description is however all conventional and useless for the purpose of reconstructing sober history.

Chāmuṇḍarāja was succeeded by his son **Agguka III**. As he has issued Charter E in 567 G. E., we may place his reign from c. 555 to 580 G. E. (874 to 899 A. D.). Charters E and F no doubt introduce some new expressions in the description of this ruler. No specific historic events have however been mentioned, and so we can say hardly anything definite about his achievements.

Agguka III was succeeded by his son **Jāika II**. As he has issued Charter F in 596 G. E., his reign may be safely placed from c. 580 to 600 G. E. (c. 899 to 919 A.D.). His charter compares him with a number of gods and heroes, but mentions not a single historic exploit.

King Jāika of the Morbi plate is most probably to be identified with this ruler.¹ That plate was issued in 585 G. E. when this ruler was on the throne. As only the concluding plate of the Morbi grant has been recovered, the names of the family and ancestors of king Jāika are not known. The fish emblem at the end of that plate would however show that he belonged to the Saindhava family. Ll. 5-7 of the Morbi plate of Jāika are identical with ll. 31-2 of the Charter F in our set. Both the charters have been composed by the same individual, Jhōjjha. Dēddaka the engraver of the Morbi plates was a brother of Madhusūdāna, the engraver of our Charter F of Jāika II, as both of them have been described as sons of Śaṅkara. It is therefore almost certain that the Morbi plates of 585 G. E. were issued by the same Jāika, who has issued our Charter F in 596 G. E. Had there not been another Jāika, son of king Rāṇaka of Charter D, ruling at this time in the 3rd Saindhava branch, the above identification would have become a mathematical certainty. We have however seen that the rule of this Jāika has to be placed from c. 570 to 590 G. E. He could therefore well have issued the Morbi plates of 585 G. E. with the fish emblem at the end. We however notice from Charters E and F that Jhōjjha, the composer of these records, was a protégé of kings Agguka III and Jāika II belonging to the main Saindhava branch. It is this very person who has composed the Morbi record. This circumstance would show that king Jāika of the Morbi record is more likely to be Jāika II, son of

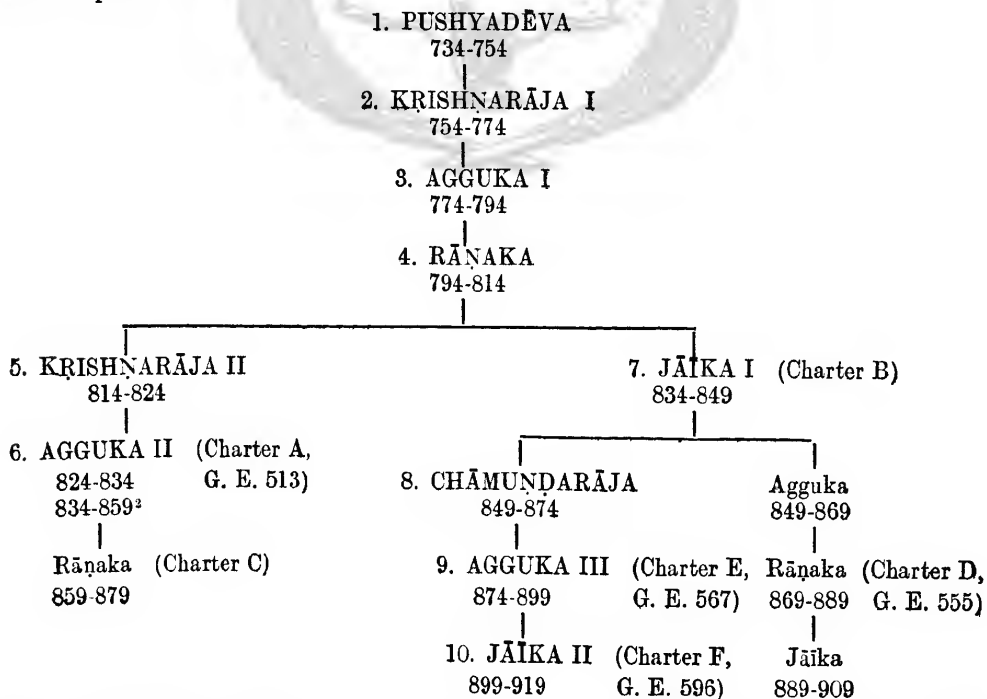
¹ R. G. Bhandarkar reads this king's name as Jāika (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8). This is no doubt a possible reading, but the form of the second letter of this name as given in Charter D, l. 7 of this set shows that the name was really Jāika.

Agguka III of the main branch, than king Jāika, son of king Rāṇaka of the third Saindhava branch.

We shall now briefly consider the extent of the Saindhava kingdom. From c. 850 A.D. the Chāpas had been established at Wadhwan in Northern Kāthiāwār as is made clear by the Haddālā grant of Dharaṇivarāha.¹ The ancestors of the Chālukya chief Balavarman had been established in Southern Kāthiāwār a few decades earlier, as their Ūnā grants show. The kingdom of the Saindhavas could therefore not have extended beyond the western portion of Kāthiāwār. They themselves also do not claim to be ruling over any larger area, as the description of their family *Apāra-Surāshīrā-maṇḍala-maṇḍana* in our grants shows. Villages granted by them are also all situated in Western Kāthiāwār.

Many of the rulers, whose history has been discussed above, are described as having distinguished themselves on battle-fields. These wars may refer either to their naval conflicts with the Arabs of Sindh or to ordinary skirmishes with their eastern neighbours. As already pointed out above, they were the feudatories of the Pratihāras, but they do not seem to have taken any part in any of the famous campaigns of their imperial sovereigns. The Ūnā plates show that Bāhukadhavala, the grandfather of the grantor, had taken active part in the campaigns of his overlord against the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Saindhavas do not seem to have emulated the example of their neighbours in the south-east. They probably felt that they need not exhaust their limited resources in order to strengthen the power of their imperial masters.

We now append below a genealogical tree of this family along with its branches. The names of the rulers of the **main branch** are given in BOLD type. Approximate time of their rule is given in each case in A. D. Charters issued by different rulers are shown after their names with years in Gupta Era.



¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 193 ff.

² This is the time of his rule as a feudatory of his uncle, Jāika I and cousin Chāmuṇḍarāja.

Very little is known at present about the history of the Saindhavas subsequent to the middle of the 10th century A. D. Bhūtāmbilikā continued to prosper for at least another three hundred years; for when Lieut. Jacob had visited the site of Ghumli in 1838 he could trace in its ruins inscriptions dated in the years 1062 and 1229 A. D.¹ The bardie account which attributes the ruin of the city to a Muslim invasion from Sindh in c. 1313 A. D., therefore, seems to be substantially correct.²

A.—Grant of the time of Agguka II; [Gupta] Samvat 513.

This grant has been engraved on a set of **three copper-plates**, which have been held together by two rings passing through two holes near the edge. The ends of the rings have been soldered together, and one of them has been impressed with a **seal** bearing the emblem of a **fish**, which was the insignia of the dynasty. The size of the first plate is $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, of the second, $13\frac{1}{8}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, and of the third, $13\frac{5}{8}'' \times 8\frac{1}{8}''$. The total weight of the plates, rings and the seal is $326\frac{3}{4}$ *tolas*. The engraving of the record is very deep and shows on the back of each plate. That is probably the reason why the central plate does not as usual bear the inscription on both the sides.

There are 12 lines on the first plate, 15 on the second and 18 on the third. After the first plate was inscribed, it was realised that the record could not be finished in three plates unless not only was the number of lines per plate increased, but also the size of the letters reduced. Both these steps were taken by the engraver, as can be seen by a glance at the plates. The engraving has been well done and mistakes are few. They have been indicated in the text and notes and no further comment is necessary here.

The **characters** of the record are proto-Nāgarī ones and bear a general resemblance to those of the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III,³ which were issued from northern Gujarāt 24 years earlier. The forms of the letters *na*, *ra* and *ka* of the latter record slightly differ from those in the present one; but they are similar to those in Charters D, E and F of this series.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and its style is of the courtly poetry. It is very florid and abounds in long compounds; the writer spares no pains in producing a remarkable array of alliterative phrases. There is an abundance of similes and metaphors, though they are of the usual hackneyed type. There are several expressions with a *double entendre*, as is the case with the works of Bāṇa and Subandhu. Our record may be confidently cited as a good example of poetic prose, written in a style, which has always excited admiration of the Pandit educated in the old fashion.

The above observations about the language and style hold good of all the charters that are being edited here. It may therefore well be concluded that the Saindhava rulers, who had in their secretariate officers of such remarkable literary ability, must have been great patrons of Sanskrit literature. The fact that the *dūtaka* of the present charter is a poet named Bāla would show that men of literary attainments could get responsible posts in the Saindhava administration.

The colophon at the end of the record tells us that its composer was **Kapila, son of Vikkaṭa, who was an ornament of the Śakas**. Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār were under the Śaka rule for more than three centuries and this must have resulted in the settlement of a large

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 75 and 77.

² *Kathiawar Gazetteer*, p. 625.

³ *Asie*, Vol. VI, p. 244-5.

Śaka population in these provinces. Our record would show that even when four centuries had elapsed since the disappearance of the Śaka rule, the Śakas retained some individuality of their own and could be distinguished from the general population. Probably they had formed a caste of their own, but were otherwise completely Hinduised. When this separate Śaka caste completely merged in Hindu society is not known at present.

Though a Śaka, Kapila, the composer of our record, shows a remarkable command not only over Sanskrit language but also over its difficult *kāvya* style. And this need not cause any surprise, for as early as the second century A. D., we find Rudradāman, the third king of the Śaka house of Chashtana, claiming that he was a master of Sanskrit grammar and logic and could compose both prose and poetry of a very high order.¹ The available evidence would thus show that, though foreigners, the Śakas conceived a great fascination for Sanskrit language and culture and became its patrons and devotees at least in Kāthiāwār.

The usual imprecatory verses apart, the record is in prose with the exception of two verses occurring at its fag end. The first of these gives us information about the name and family of the composer and the second one summarises the contents of the grant by mentioning once more the names of the grantor, the grantee, the village granted and the time of the grant. Since the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse, it may be well doubted whether it really formed part of the original record. In copper-plate charters, we do not usually come across the phenomenon of the donee himself stating at the end that he had got the grant from such and such a king on such and such an occasion. It would appear that the last verse was probably composed by the donee himself and added in the space available at the bottom of the plate.

The orthography calls for only a few remarks. In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second letter is usually doubled; cf. *garuva* in l. 3. (2) The *anusvāra* before *śa* is indicated sometimes by a guttural nasal as in *vaśa* in l. 7 and sometimes by the dental one as in *vanka* in l. 34 and in *bhranśa* in ll. 35-6. (3) The rules of *sandhi* are usually followed, but there are a few mistakes in this connection; cf. *karavālaiva* for *karavāla iva*, l. 6, *dharmmah mūrttimān* for *dharmmō mūrttimān*, ll. 10-11, etc.

The copper-plates record a grant of a village made in the reign of the Saindhava king Agguka II, son of Kṛishṇarāja. The actual grantor is, however, Jāika, the uncle of the ruling king who was a minor when the grant was made. This is rendered quite certain by ll. 23-4 of the record, which state that though embraced by the goddess Kamalā, who was anxious for dalliance on his chest, Jāika thought that his nephew ought to be protected and reared by him. At the time of the issue of the charter, Jāika therefore professed to be a mere regent, administering the government on behalf of his minor nephew. Agguka however was a mere puppet; for the charter does not give him any legal titles whatsoever. The regent on the other hand is described with all the usual titles of a ruling feudatory. How he eventually superseded his nephew has been already discussed above in the general introduction (*ante*, p. 193).

The grant is dated; it was made in Samvat 513 on the 12th day (of an unspecified month) on the occasion of Uttarāyāṇa. As the dates in the remaining charters of this series, when given, are expressly declared to be referring to the Gupta era, there can be no doubt whatever that the date of this charter is also to be referred to the same era. The Uttarāyāṇa of 831 A. D. took place on Pausa kṛishṇa 1, of 832 A. D. on Pausa kṛishṇa 12, and of

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 44. *Śabdārthha-gāndharva-nyāy-ādyānām vidyānām mahatīnām pārāṇa-dhāraṇa-ijñāna-prayōg-avāpta-vipula-kīrtinā sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-chitra-kāṇṭha-śabdasaṃyōdār-ālamkṛita-gadya-padya*

833 A. D. on Pausa *krishṇa* 7. It is therefore clear that our grant was made on Pausa *krishṇa* 12 of the Gupta Samvat 513, which corresponds to **Sunday, the 22nd of December 832 A. D.** The date of the charter is given at its end and in numerals only. The **symbols for the numerals** are rather unusual, but a comparison with those in charter F, where the date is given both in words and in numerals, makes it quite clear that the correct reading is 513.

The grantee of the record was **Mādhava, son of Kalyāṇa**, who was a Ṛigvēdin Brāhmaṇa of the Sāṃkṛitya *gōtra* and a resident of **Sōmēśvara**, which is obviously to be identified with famous Sōmanātha. He was given the whole village of **Dhaṅkatīrtha** and one tenth the share of the village of **Gulamikā** in order to enable him to perform the usual Brahmanical rites and sacrifices. These villages were situated in the district of **Pachchhatrī**, which was being governed by the grantor himself. Pachchhatrī, the headquarters of the district, is probably to be identified with the modern village **Pāchhtardī**, six miles to the west of Ghumli. Dhaṅkatīrtha, the village granted, is obviously the same as **Dhāṅk** in Gondal state, situated about 25 miles east of Ghumli. Dhāṅk is situated on the outskirts of a hill of the same name and figures as a holy place in Jain tradition.¹ I am unable to identify Gulamikā, one tenth of whose revenues were also assigned to the donee.

A large number of officers are mentioned in this record, while the grant is being announced by the king. They are the following: 1. *Mantrī*, 2. *Purōhita*, 3. *Amātya*, 4. *Janapada*, 5. *Yuvarāja*, 6. *Rājasthānīya*, 7. *Pramātri*, 8. *Balādhikṛita*, 9. *Uparika*, 10. *Vishayapati*, 11. *Śaulkika*, 12. *Dussādhasādhanika*, 13. *Chōrōddharanika*, 14. *Vaikshēpika*, 15. *Chāra* and 16. *Bhata*. All these officers are mentioned in Charters B and D also. In Charter C, Nos. 4 and 7 are omitted but *Sēnāpati* has been added; in Charter E, Nos. 1 and 2 are dropped; in Charter F, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9 and 11 are not mentioned and *Dēsādhipati* has been added. Among these officers the functions of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 16 are quite clear. No. 4 *Janapada* cannot obviously refer to people in general; it probably refers to representatives of people or members of the Janapada assembly, though one would like to have a more convincing evidence about the existence of such a body at this period. No. 6 *Rājasthānīya* means a viceroy, No. 8 *Balādhikṛita* denotes the commander-in-chief; No. 9 *Uparika* was a provincial viceroy under the Gupta administration, superior in status to *Vishayapati* or the district officer, who is here also mentioned after the *Uparika*². No. 12 *Dussādhasādhanika* probably denoted those officers of the *Chōrōddharanika* class, who were entrusted with the difficult task of apprehending dacoits and other dangerous criminals. I am unable to offer any suggestions about the function of No. 14 *Vaikshēpika*.

Most of these officers are mentioned in charters issued by each of the three branches of the Saindhava kingdom. The original kingdom was a small one and its branches must have been quite tiny; one may therefore well doubt whether even the parent kingdom had all these officers working in its administration. This suspicion becomes stronger when we remember that in Charter F, which is the most business-like and carefully drafted document of this series, a large number of these officers are omitted. It is interesting to add that the officers dropped out in this charter are just those whose existence otherwise appears to be doubtful. One wonders whether in this small kingdom *Mantrins* would have existed as a class of officers separate from the *Amātyas*; they are omitted in this record. A viceroy presupposes a large kingdom, which the Saindhavas did not possess; *Rājasthānīya* is omitted in Charter F. There was no room for both the *Vishayapatis* and *Uparikas* in the Saindhava administration; the latter of them have been omitted in Charter F. It would therefore appear that some of the officers mentioned in

¹ *Vividhakaḷpatīrtha*, edited by Sri-Jinaprabhasuri, p. 1.

² [The office of *Uparika* has been discussed above, Vol. XXIV, p. 134 and also in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 231-33, where it has been explained to correspond to that of a Magistrate.—B. C. J.]

our grants did not really function in the Saindhava administration ; they are merely mentioned to make the list exhaustive.

Among the commoners to whom the grants have been announced, only Brāhmaṇas and traders are mentioned. This would show that as early as the 9th century A.D. Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār had developed their present commercial traditions and that merchants had come to be recognised as a class as important as the Brāhmaṇas. The bracketing of the Vaiśyas with the Śūdras in the Gītā and the Dharmaśāstra literature would thus be giving us not a correct idea of the position which the merchant class occupied in a commercial province like Kāthiāwār.

TEXT¹

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति [1*] स्वस्ति लकामरावतीसम्भर्षईस्यर्द्धभूतास्त्रिलिकाभिधानमगरीगरीयोपरस्व-
(सु)राष्ट्राम-
- 2 गडलमण्डनोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्णप्रकाशशरन्निशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिजयशोरा-
- 3 शिः(शि)श्यामन्तमगर्वशत्रुसामन्तसोमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वा-
लावली-
- 4 कल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रतापः स्वहृदयसमोहितहितविभवदानहेलाजलाह्लादितसकल³सुहृत्सोकः सम-
- 5 ररसभरधरोदुर्गेर्जितजितप्रणतवैरिशिरीरत्नष्ट्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूरखरचितपा-
- 6 दर्पोष्ठप्रान्तः करवालै(ल इ)वापवर्जितमहजकलङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररक्षानपेक्षितस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरन-
ष्टाभि-
- 7 मुखपतद्विपक्षचित्तिविहामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्रवृद्धाग्रशालिश्रीमत्सैन्यववङ्ग(वंश)शेखरः समधि-
- 8 गताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीमदगुणः [1*] तस्य जननमस्यचरितवन्द्यानिन्यद्विजसमूह-
मोह-
- 9 हारिहारिवृत्तपालितप्रजासमुद्भवच्छरच्छशधरकरनिकरधवल्यशोराशिराशिषां परमविसं-
- 10 वादि स्थानमास्थाननिविष्टेष्टसामन्तचक्रक्रमरक्षादाच्योदय(द्य)द्व्यापिकीर्त्यमानकीर्तिः साक्षादि-
वधर्मः⁴
- 11 मूर्तिमानिव निजजनपदपुण्यसम्भारः सकललोकपरिशुद्धिहेतुस्थिरसरस्वतीसङ्गतिसेव्यतया
- 12 सुचिरमचलितमर्यादो नतिजलोपिलीपितदुष्टचेष्टितः समुद्रकरणिमुद्गहव-

¹ Edited from ink impressions.

² Indicated by a symbol.

³ Read either *dāna-jala-hēla-*, or *samāhlādita* instead of *jai-āhlādita*, as is done in Charters B and D. The reading of Charter E, *dāna-phala-samāhlādita-* is the best.

⁴ *Sandhi* rules have not been always followed in this charter.

i.

ii.

iii.

28 28
 30 30
 32 32
 34 34
 36 36
 38 38
 40 40
 42 42
 44 44

Second Plate.

- 13 णेषु च चापघटितरटटटनिनियतगुणसङ्गिभार्गगणप्रीत्सारितारातिरुन्मीलित-
- 14 मलमूलदुश्चरितपरिणामी रणरणकदानदक्षचक्षुर्विचेपो विपन्नारोणां श्रीरणकस्मृतीभवत्त-¹
स्यापि
- 15 चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रीत्वर्षदुत्साहभरो भरत इवाचलदुचितसमाराधितरामी भार-
तमल्ल-
- 16 त्रि(ह)तीयपार्थ इवापार्थकीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्द्धरधनुर्द्धरो द्वकीदर इव सततरुधिरपान-
करणास्फुरणीकृत-
- 17 दुश्शासनीसकृदुपहसितदुयी(र्यो)धनश्च सर्व्वतः स्वर्ग्वतः समुत्सारितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिन-
कर इव वर्द्धमा-
- 18 नतेजीराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसन्तापितातिट्टसपत्न्यन्नः शार्ङ्गधन्वेव पृ(प्रि)यसख्योतिदूरविच्छिप्त-
नरकीपद्र-
- 19 वाशङ्कः शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो जनोदितसहजपुरुषकारातिरेककरदीकृतप्रातिरा-
ज्यभूभृदुत्करः(र)
- 20 ऐच्छि कृपाणपाणिरपि रिपुभिरभिभवोद्भूतभयस(सं)भ्रान्तनयनैर्नयनैपुणसाभ(फ)ल्यप्रकटोभव-
त्पुण्यसन्धारी भा-
- 21 रतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दितसकलप्रणयिजनी जमनीचरणारविन्दवन्दनसंवर्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोतनुतनु-
शोभाभा-
- 22 विततरुणीजनमनःप्रसरी(रः) श्रीकृष्णराजाभिधानीतिधन्यस्तनयोभूतस्य² भ्राता वैमात्री
ज्येष्ठं तत्सुतमुचितकु-
- 23 लक्रमगताक्रान्तसिङ्हा(सिंहा)सनमपि परित्यज्य श्रीमदगुकाख्यं ख्यातपौरुषपुरुषजयिस-
त्वधामवक्षस्थलीलीलाला-
- 24 लसया कमलया निस्सङ्गमालिङ्गितो³ अयमेव निजपितृप्रवर्द्धितमदीयलालनपालनयोग्य
इति समरशत-
- 25 शातितशत्रुशौटीर्यो धैर्यनिधिरधीराणां रणेषु रक्षिता क्षतकलिकलङ्कोक्तचिमदानाभ्यासा-
भ्यर्ण्णीकृतकर्णवर्ण-

¹ Read -bhavat | Tasy=āpi.² Read=bhūt | Tasya.³ Read niśāṅkam=ālingitō='yam=ēva.

26 नः स्वपुषि पूषेव विकसितपद्माकरः सत्क्रियाप्रवर्तितसकललोकस्य कश्चनापरोप्येतत्स-
मोस्ति नास्तीति कौ-

27 तूहलिन्या यत्कीर्त्या जगद्भ्रम्यते स समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजार्जक-

Third Plate.

28 स्सर्वानेवात्मोयान्मन्त्रि(न्त्रि)पुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमादबलाधिकृतोप-

29 रिकविषयपतिशौलिककदुस्साधसाधनिकचोरोदरणिक्वैद्येपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषा(षा)-

30 न्स्त(स्त)न्निवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरान्वणिङ्गहत्तरकुटुम्बिनस्समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
मया स्वभुज्यमानपच्छत्रीप्रावे(दे)-

31 शिकटङ्गतीर्थाभिधानग्रामस्त(स्व)सीमापर्यन्तो गुलमिकाभिधानग्रामस्य दशान्शे(शंशे)न
सहित[*] सीमेश्वरवास्तव्यचातु-

32 वैद्यसामान्यसांक्रत्यसगोक्षवहृचसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणचतुर्वेदमाधवाय कल्याणपुत्रायोदकातिसर्गेण
द्वादश्या-

33 मुदगयने दत्तो बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रब्रह्मकृत्यो¹त्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
भित्तव्ये [*] अतो-

34 स्येनं भुञ्जतो न केनचित्परिपत्यना कार्या [*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वन्श(द्वंश)-
जैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमभिवा-

35 च्छद्भिरनित्यान्यैश्चर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिहितजललवलोलमाकलय्य
दुःपरिहरभ(भं)-

36 न्श(श)क्षणिकञ्च जीवितमालोक्यातिप्रचुरकदर्थनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसद्भिदीपशिखाचञ्चलमा-
लोच्य वाच्यताचु-

37 तिकामैरमलमण्डलशरदिन्दुदुतिधवलयशोवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमनो-
भिरात्मच्छ-

38 न्दतोयमयम²स्मद्वन्मदायोनुमन्तव्यो(व्यः) [*] व्यास्रादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाक-
जनिताश्च यामीर्यातना म-

39 नसि निधाय पूर्वधार्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापातकसमयश्रावणाञ्च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो
भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं न प्रप्स-

¹ Read either *krityō* or *kriyō*.

² The letters *yama* are repeated through inadvertence.

- 40 त्र्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं(ष्टम्) [1*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*]
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा
- 41 यो हरेत्तु वसुन्धरां(राम्) [1*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बि(त्वि)षः(षम्)
[11*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः[11*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥
- 42 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि
तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः[11*]
कृष्णाह-
- 43 यो हि जायन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारका[1*] ॥ स्वहस्तोयं समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासा-
मन्तश्रीजाईकस्य श्रीराणकपुत्रस्य [1*] दूतकोच महत्तमबालकविः [1*]
- 44 श्रीजाई(ह)केमलयशः[1*]प्रसराप्तविखे वि(वि)खासिताप्तगुरुबभुजने स्वराज्यं(ज्यम्) [1*]
भुज(भुञ्ज)त्यदोलिखदिह स्वधिया प्रसूतो यो विकटाक्ष कपिलस्तिलकः शका-
नां(नाम्) ॥
- 45 श्रीजयसेनो मह्यं ग्राममदाङ्कतोर्थनामानं(नम्) [1*] गुलमयिकाग्रामदशान्श(शांश)सहित-
मतिभक्तिरुदगयने ॥ संव ५०० १० ३

B.—Grant of king Jāika I.

This grant has been written on a set of two copper-plates, which have been inscribed on one side only. The plates have two holes near the edge, intended for the two rings to secure them together. Only one of these rings has been preserved and its ends have been soldered together and impressed with a seal with the emblem of the fish, which was the insignia of the dynasty. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 348½ *tolas*. The size of each plate is 13¼" × 10".

There are 18 lines on the first plate and 19 on the second. The engraving has been nicely done and the duct of the handwriting is graceful. The characters and language of this charter are similar to those of Charter A. The record is in prose with the exception of the imprecatory stanzas, and the concluding verse, which is identical with the penultimate verse of Charter A. The composer of this record is the same Śaka Sanskrit poet Kapila, who had drafted Charter A.

As far as orthography is concerned, attention may be drawn to the occurrence of *upadhmanīya* in ll. 30 and 35 in the expressions *duḥparihara*² and *hantuḥ prāpnōti* respectively.

The charter records a village-grant made by Mahāsāmanta Jāika I, son of king Rāṇaka. He is identical with the same person who had issued Charter A as regent for his nephew, Agguka I, who was then the *de jure* king. In the genealogy of this grant, however, there is no reference to Agguka or his father who was the elder brother of Jāika I, both of whom were expressly mentioned as the occupants of the Saindhava throne in Charter A. The reason is not

¹ The shortening of *i* is required for metrical reasons; the correct spelling is Jāika.

² [The same occurs also in Charter A, l. 35. The form should, however, be *dushparihara*.—Ed.]

far to seek. We have already seen how Jāika I had almost become a *de jure* king in Gupta Samvat 513, when Charter A was issued. By the time of the issue of the present charter, the usurpation was complete, and Jāika must have issued instructions to his secretariate that the names of his elder brother and his son should be eliminated from future copper-plate genealogies in order to remove all traces of his usurpation from the ken of the posterity.

The present charter is not dated, but for reasons already explained above in the general introduction (*ante*, pp. 193-194), its time of issue will probably be as early as 515 G. E. (834-5 A. D.)

The grantee is a Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*, **Bhaṭṭasvāmika** by name, who was a son of **Kulachandra**. The revenues of the village of **Dadhipadraka** were assigned to him in order to enable him to perform the usual scriptural sacrifices without feeling any anxiety for his livelihood.

The village **Dadhipadraka** was situated in the district of **Pachhchatrī**, which is the same as **Pāchhtardī**, 6 miles west of Ghumli, as shown already. The boundaries of Dadhipadraka have been given and they enable us to state that the village has either disappeared or changed its name to **Deolia**, which is now a village 13 miles north-east of Ghumli. For to the east and north of this village are the river **Varatu** and the village **Shedkāi** respectively which are obviously identical with the river **Varatrōyī** and the village **Sēdhākhāikā**, which also were to the east and north of the village Dadhipadraka, which was granted to the donee. **Bhillamāla**, which was the original place of residence of the donee is to be identified with modern **Bhinmal**, which is 80 miles to the north of Patan and 40 miles to the east of Mt. Abu.

The occasion of the gift was the performance of the *Pushyasnāna* ceremony by the king. From the *Bṛihatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira we learn that this ritual was recommended to kings by astrologers of old for the purpose of averting disaster and promoting prosperity, both of themselves and of their kingdom¹. A number of deities were invited at the bath, which was given usually at a holy place. The water was mixed with numerous medicinal and auspicious drugs. Any day of the month, when the moon was in the lunar mansion of Pushya, could be selected for the purpose; but the most suitable time was the full-moon day of the month of Pausa. It is most probable that Jāika II utilised the first Pausa month after his usurpation for this purpose in order to avert the possible visitation of divine wrath at his unjustifiable conduct.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ³ स्वस्ति [!]^{*} स्वस्ति लकामरावतीसम्भवर्षिस्वर्द्धिभूताम्बि(म्बि)लिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोप-
रसुराष्ट्रमण्डलम-
- 2 खड्गोपरममुद्राधिपतिरासौत्सपूर्णप्रकाशशरन्निशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिजयशोराशिः(शि)श्याम-

¹ नास्ति लोके स उत्पाती यो ह्यनेन न शस्यते । संगलं चापरं नास्ति यदस्मादतिरिच्यते ॥

अधिराज्याधिनी राज्ञः पुत्रजन्म च कांचितः । तत्पूर्वमभिषेको च विधिरष प्रशस्यते ॥

Chap. 48, 84—5.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Indicated by a symbol.

- 3 लितसगर्वशत्रुसामन्तसौमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दयुतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पा-
नल्पप्रसर-
- 4 अतापः स्वहृदयसमीहितहितविभवदानहेलासमाह्लादितसकलसुहृल्लोकः समररसभरधरोद्भु-
रोर्जितजित-
- 5 प्रणतवैरिशिरोरत्नघृष्टमाणस्फुरच्चरणखमयूखखचितपादपीठप्रान्तः करवालै(ल इ)वापवर्जि-
तसहजकल-
- 6 क्लृप्तः परिवाररक्षानपेक्षितस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरनष्टाभिमुखापतद्विपक्षक्षितिष्विहामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्र-
वृद्धा-
- 7 अशालिश्रीमत्सैन्यववङ्ग(वंश)शेखरः स समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीमदग्न्युक्तः [1*]
तस्य जननमस्यचरितवंद्या-
- 8 निन्द्यद्विजसमूहमोहहारिहारिवृत्तपालितप्रजासमुद्भवच्छरच्छशधरकरनिकरधवल्यशोराशिराशिषां
पर-
- 9 मविसंवादि स्थानमास्थाननिविष्टेष्टसामन्तचक्रक्रमरक्षादाद्योदय(द्य)इवापिकीर्त्यमानकीर्तिः
साक्षादिव धर्मः(र्मो)
- 10 मूर्तिमानिव निजजनपदपुण्यसम्भारः सकललोकपरिशुद्धिहेतुस्थिरसरस्वतीसङ्गतिसेव्यतया
सुचिरमच-
- 11 लितमर्यादो नतिजलोपिलोपितदुष्टचेष्टितः समुद्रकरणमुद्गह्वरणेषु च चापघटितरटदटनि-
नियत-
- 12 गुणसङ्गिर्माणगणप्रोत्सारितारातिरुन्मीलितमलमूलदुश्चरितपरिणामी रणरणकदानदक्षचक्षु-
र्विचक्षेपो
- 13 विपक्षनारीणां श्रीराणकस्तुतीभवत्¹स्यापि चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्पदुत्साहसभरो²
भरत इ-
- 14 वाचलदुचितसमाराधितरामी भारतमङ्गलि(ढ)तौयपार्थ इवापार्थकीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्ध-
रधनुर्धरो वृकी-
- 15 दर इव सततरुधिरपानकरणास्फुरणीकृतदुश्शासनीसक्तदुपहसितदुर्योधनश्च सर्वतः स्वगर्वतः
समुत्सारित-

¹ The usual punctuation mark at the end of the sentence is omitted here.

² Read -*utōḥa-bharō*.

- 16 रिपुतिमिरनिकरी दिनकर इव वर्द्धमानतजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसन्तापितातिष्ठसपत्न्यद्वः
शार्ङ्गधन्वेव प्रियसत्वी-
- 17 तितूरविचित्रनरकीपद्रवाशङ्कः शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्वतीयजनो जनोदितसहजपुरुषकारा-
तिरेककरदोक्त-
- 18 तप्रातिराज्यभूष्टदुत्करः(र) ऐच्छि कृपाणपाणिर्पि रिपुभिरभिभवीद्वूतभयसंभ्रान्तनयनैर्नयनैपुण-

Second Plate.

- 19 माफल्प्रकटीभवत्पुण्यसम्भारो भारतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दितसकलप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणार-
- 20 विन्दवन्दनसंवर्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोतनुतनुशोभाभाविततरुणीजनमनःप्रसरस्सस(म)धिगताशेषमहा-
शब्द-
- 21 महामामन्तश्रीजार्ङ्कस्सर्वनिवात्कीयान्मन्त्रि(न्वि)पुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमाद-
बला-
- 22 धिक्कृतोपरिकविषयपतिशौलिकदुस्साधसाधनिकचोरोडरणिकवैज्ञेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपु-
रुपा(पां)-
- 23 गस्त(स्त)न्निवासित्राह्मणीत्तरान्वणिङ्गहत्तरकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नस्समनुजोधयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यया
मया स्वभुज्यमानपच्छ-
- 24 क्षौप्रावे(दे)शिकपूर्वप्रसिद्धदधिपद्राभिधानग्रामस्स(स्व)सीमापर्यन्तस्साघाटश्च तच्च चाघाट-
नानि । यत्र पूर्व्वतो वर-
- 25 क्षौयी नदी दक्षिणतश्चीष्णाणकाभिधानो भट्टग्रामः पश्चिमतस्सेण्टूरकग्राम उत्तरतोपि
वाडग्रामकग्रामः
- 26 सदाखाडका चग्रा(चाग्र)हार[: ।*] एवं समस्ताघाटपरिच्छिन्नः श्रीभिस्समालवास्तव्यतच्चा-
तुर्व्वद्यमामान्यवत्स-
- 27 समीचच्छान्दीगमन्नहचारित्राह्मणभट्टस्वामिकाय कुलचन्द्रपुत्तायीदकातिसर्गेण पुण्यस्नानविधी
- 28 दन्तो बलिचरुयैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रब्रह्मकृत्यो'त्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिद्वय [:*]
अतोस्ये(स्ये)नं भुञ्जतो न के-

B.—GRANT OF KING JAIIKA II.

 $\ddot{ii}.$ [illegible]

- 29 नचित्परिपत्यना कार्या [1*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वन्श(द्वंश)जैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफलमभिवाञ्छद्भिरनित्यान्वैश्वर्याणि मा-
- 30 नुत्थकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्भिनीपचनिहितजललवलीलमाकलय्य दुःपरिहरभ्रन्श(भ्रंश)-
क्षणिकञ्च जीवितमालीक्या-
- 31 तिप्रचुरकदर्शनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसद्भिदीपशिखाचञ्चलमालीच वाच्यताच्युतिकामैरमल-
मण्डलशरदिदुद्यु-
- 32 तिधवल्यशेवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमनोभिरात्मच्छन्दतीयमयम¹स्मद्वन्श-
दायोनुमन्तव्यो(व्यः) [1*] व्यासादि-
- 33 मुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाकजनिताश्च यामीर्यातना मनसि निधाय पूर्वधार्मिक-
नृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापा-
- 34 तक्रसमयश्रावणाञ्च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं न प्रस्मर्त्तव्यं स्मृतिकारोप-
दिष्टं(ष्टम्) [1*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
- 35 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्
वसुन्धरां(राम्) । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः²प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ स्वहस्तो-
- 36 यं समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजाईकस्य [1*] तदादिष्टदूतकोत्त प्रतिहारकृष्णः
[1*] श्रीजाई(ई)के²मलयशःप्रसरत्-
- 37 विश्वे त्रिं(वि)श्वासितामगुरुबन्धुजने स्वराज्यं(ज्यम्) [1*] भुञ्जत्यदोलिखदिह स्वधिया प्रसूतो
यो विक्रटात्स कपिलस्थिलकः शकानां(नाम्) ॥

C.—An incomplete grant of King Rāṇaka.

This charter was originally engraved on two plates, but only the first of them has been recovered. It is much bigger in size than the other plates of this find, being $16\frac{5}{8}'' \times 12\frac{1}{8}''$ in dimensions. Its weight is $317\frac{1}{4}$ tolas, which is almost equal to the combined weight of the three plates of Charter A. There are two holes at the bottom intended for the two rings for holding the plates together. The second plate as well as the two rings are untraceable.

There are 22 lines engraved on this plate. The engraving on no other plates of this set is so shabby, slipshod and careless as that on this plate. Every line teems with mistakes and consideration of space renders their enumeration impossible here. They can be seen in the text and the appended footnotes. Apart from mistakes of engraving, there are mistakes of pronunciation

¹ Letters *yama* have been wrongly repeated.

² The shortening of *ī* is required for metrical purpose. The real spelling is *Jāṭika*.

like *shyāmalita* for *śyāmalita* in l. 2, *sunū* for *sūnu* in l. 11, *jasō* for *yaśō* in l. 1, *yanō* for *janō* in l. 7, etc. Then there are mistakes of grammar, too, like *samabhavaḥ* for *samabhavat* in ll. 10-11. The draftsman also has made his own humble contribution to the prevailing chaos by framing a sentence at the end of the plate (ll. 18-22), the syntax of which is very defective.

The form of some characters of this record is considerably different from that of the Charters A and B. *Ma* and *na* are quite indistinguishable; cf. *śimantini* in l. 2. The forms of the characters *ga* and *sa* are also somewhat different from those in Charters A and B. There are two forms of *ha*; both of them can be seen in the word *mahāmahindhra* in l. 14.

The record contains a grant of *Mahāsāmanta Rāṇaka*, who was a son of king *Agguka* and a grandson of king *Kṛishṇarāja*. In his *Report on Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has advanced the view that *Rāṇaka*, the grantor of this plate, should be identified with *Rāṇaka*, the father of *Jāika I*, who according to the genealogy given in Charter F, was a son of *Agguka* and grandson of *Kṛishṇarāja*. He therefore regards this charter as the earliest of the present set. It is also possible to argue that the unusually large size of the copper-plate might probably indicate that it belongs to an earlier period, when the size of the copper-plates of its charters was not yet standardised by the secretariate of the dynasty. This argument is of course not very strong.

In view of the genealogical data of Charter F, the above view undoubtedly appears as the most plausible one, but there are serious difficulties in accepting it. A comparison of the text of the present charter with that of Charters A and B makes it clear that it presupposes the knowledge of the latter and is based upon them. Thus the expression *hēl-āhlādita-sakala-suhṛil-lōkaḥ* in l. 3 of the present charter gives no meaning whatsoever; it is an unintelligent abbreviation of *sva-hṛidaya-samihita-hita-vibhava-dāna hēlā-samāhlādita-sakala-suhṛil-lōkaḥ* of Charters A and B, l. 4; similarly *karavāla iva parivāra-nirapēkshaḥ* in l. 5 of this charter presupposes a knowledge of *karavāla iv-āpavarjita-sahaja-kalaṅka-śaṅkaḥ parivāra-raksh-ānapēkshita-spashṭa-dṛishṭa-śaktiḥ* of Charter A, l. 6 and Charter B, ll. 5 and 6. The present charter is thus later than Charters A and B, and cannot be therefore attributed to *Rāṇaka*, the father of the donor of Charter B, though the names of his father and grandfather were *Agguka* and *Kṛishṇarāja* respectively.

It is no doubt possible to rebut the force of the above argument by contending that the present charter does not presuppose a knowledge of Charters A and B, but that all of them are based upon a still earlier grant, which served as the prototype for all the three charters. This contention is however purely hypothetical and will continue to remain so, till an earlier grant is actually discovered and shown to be the prototype of the drafts of the three charters.

There is another and a more serious objection to M. M. Shastri's view. If we accept it, the approximate time of king *Rāṇaka*, the donor, would be 794-814 A.D.¹ Now the concluding five lines of the record would show that queen *Kshēmēśvari* was his wife. This *Kshēmēśvari* was very probably either a daughter or a sister² of the *Chāpa* king *Kshēmarāja* or *Kshēmēśvara*, the son of *Yōgarāja*, who is traditionally known to have ruled from 841 to 880 A.D.³ It is not very likely that a daughter or a sister of a king, who was ruling from c. 841 to 880 A.D., could have been married to another whose reign period is known to be c. 794 to 814 A.D. *Kshēmēśvara* was no

¹ *Ante*, p. 196. See the genealogical table.

² Kings *Harshagupta* and *Mahāsēnagupta* of the later Gupta dynasty had sisters named *Harshaguptā* and *Mahāsēnaguptā* respectively.

³ *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, p. 14 (Singhi Jain Granthamala ed.).

doubt a man of about 40 at the time of his accession, but even this circumstance does not render the marriage of a daughter or a sister of his with Rāṇaka possible.

If Rāṇaka, the donor of our charter is not the same as Rāṇaka, the father of Jāika I, as suggested by the genealogy in Charter F, with whom then are we to identify him? The answer to this question is supplied by the data in Charter A. That charter was issued by Jāika as regent, when Agguka, the son of his half-brother Kṛishṇarāja, was ruling as a minor. Rāṇaka, the grantor of our plate, was a son of this Agguka. It would be seen that the names of his father and grandfather were Agguka and Rāṇaka respectively, as was the case with the grantor of our plate. A glance at the genealogical and chronological table given on p. 196 shows that the approximate time of the rule of this Rāṇaka was A.D. 859 to 879. It was thus possible for him to marry Kshēmēśvarī who was presumably a daughter of the Chāpa king Kshēmarāja, since the latter is known to have ruled from c. 841 to 880 A.D.

As against the view here proposed, it is possible to argue that it requires us to suppose that the Saindhava kingdom, which was already very small, was divided into as many as three branches during the latter part of the 9th century A.D. Known facts about divisions and subdivisions of kingdoms in India would show that there was nothing very unusual in it. The testimony of Charter F would further show that our hypothesis is almost inevitable; for ll. 5 and 6 of that charter show that during the latter half of the 9th century the Saindhava family-tree had a number of branches (*sākhā-saṅchaya*). We should not therefore be surprised if the data available at present showed that there were three branches ruling simultaneously at that time.

It is interesting to note that the claim to the overlordship of western Saurāshṭra has not been advanced in this charter on behalf of the grantor, as has been done in the remaining charters of this set. This was probably due to the fact that after the usurpation of Jāika I, the branch of Kṛishṇarāja, though representing the senior line, was reduced to a humble status and did not wield much power and influence. To judge from the present charter, it would appear that it could not command the services of good poets and engravers also. The literary scholars of the day seem to have preferred the patronage of Jāika and his descendants, who had become the leading members of the Saindhava family.

The present charter is not dated, but since the grantor was a son of Agguka II, who was a minor in 513 G. E., we may presume that it may have been issued in c. 550 G. E. If the grant was in memory of a departed queen of the donor, as seems to be the case, then its date may probably be about a decade later. The present charter was thus very probably granted in the same decade in which Charter D, dated 555 G. E., was issued.

The charter records the donation of the village **Bhēṭālikā** situated in the district of **Pachchhatrī**. The name of the donee does not occur in the first plate, which alone has been so far recovered. The concluding four lines of the first plate contain a part of the record, which described its object. Besides being incomplete, this portion is rather obscure, and so we cannot get a definite idea on the subject. If the emendations suggested by me in the text are correct, the record would seem to sanction a grant for the purpose of erecting a temple in memory of queen Kshēmēśvarī, who appears to have married the donor in a *svayamvara*. Or, it may be that the grant was made at the request of queen Kshēmēśvarī; this alternative, however, appears to me as less probable.

As observed already, Kshēmēśvarī was very probably a daughter of king Kshēmarāja of the Chāpa dynasty, who was a western neighbour of king Rāṇaka and ruling almost contemporaneously with him. M. M. Shastri has advanced a curious suggestion in this connection; he thinks that Kshēmēśvarī may have been a queen of Chāpa king Kshēmēśvara of Anahilapaṭṭana, living

at Ghumli in separation from him.¹ There is nothing in the record to bear out this suggestion. The concluding sentence is no doubt difficult to construe; but it is almost certain that the word *ātmiyāyāḥ* in l. 18 has to be construed with *rājñi-Kshēmēśvaryaḥ* in l. 22; Kshēmēśvari was thus a queen of the donor. L. 19 describes her as superior to thousands of women in her character. She therefore was not likely to be a lady living in a kind of judicial separation from her husband; such women were held in contempt by Hindu society. In ll. 21-22, the donor is referring to her constancy to the marriage vow taken in the presence of the sacred fire. She must therefore have been his own wife, and not the wife of a contemporary of his living in separation at his capital.

The village granted was Bhēṭālikā, situated in the district of Pachehhatri. As its boundaries are not given, it is difficult to identify it with certainty. M. M. Shastri has suggested that it should be identified with **Vaḍāla**, which is now a railway station on the Junagad State Railway, about 7 miles north of Junagad.² There is, however, another village named **Bhātēla**, about 24 miles north-north-east of modern Pāehlardī, whose name has a greater phonetic resemblance to that of Bhēṭālikā. It is more probable that this may have been the village granted.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ⁴ स्वस्ति [!*] भूताम्बि(म्बि)लिकातः [!*] आशी(सौ)त्सपूर्णप्रकाशशरनि(त्रि)शा-
कररश्मीं(श्मि)प्रतानविष(श)दनिषजसो(निजयशो)-
- 2 राशिस्था(स्था)मलितसमस्तशत्रुसामंतसीमंतिनीवदस्त्रा⁵रविन्दु(न्द)द्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्व-
- 3 लनज्वालावलीकल्पप्रु(प्र)तापप्रसर(रो) हेलाल्लादितसकलसुहृल्लोकः प्रणमदु(दू)र्जितानेकसर-
- 4 मनिर्यितमहाभियनराजंनो⁶जिह्मतदीर्घोणनिश्वासपवनस्पर्ध(र्श)निर्मलतरीभवन(न्न)खदर्पण-
- 5 छायाः(यः) पृथिव्यामाश्रयो(र्य)भूत[!*] करवालैव⁷ परिवारनिरवपेक्षः⁸ केवल एव
निर्व्व्यु(व्यू)ढानेकसमरसाहस-
- 6 महोत्सवः श्रीमत्सैत्यववंशप्रसूतः समधिगताशेषमह(हा)सामंतश्रीकृष्णराजः [!*] तस्य प्र-
- 7 धितानेकगुणगणसमाह्लादितसज्जनजनमन[!*]प्रसर[!*] केवलं जननिजभुजवीर्योपार्जितप्रणति-
यनो-⁹
- 8 प्रभुज्यमानलक्ष्मीं(क्ष्मी)विभवती(स्त्री)ल्लोत्खातकरवालनिशितद्वा(धा)राविस्फुरत्किरणनिवहदूरो-
त्सा-

¹ M. M. Shastri, *Report on Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³ Edited from ink-impression.

⁴ Indicated by a symbol.

⁵ The letter looks like *khnā*; read *vadanā*.

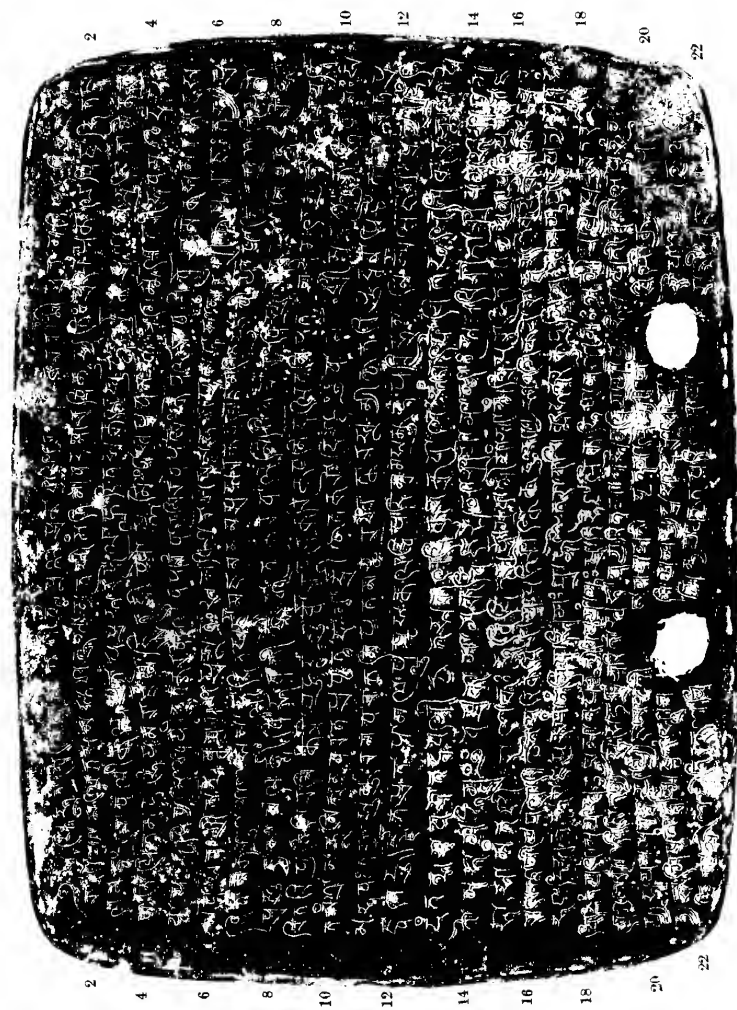
⁶ Read *-samara-nirjita-mahābhijana-rājany-ō*.

⁷ Read *karavāla iva*.

⁸ The letter *va* in this word is superfluous, read *nirapēkshah*.

⁹ Read *pranayi-jana-*.

SIX ŚAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI;
C.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF KING RANAKA.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. NO. 2096 E 41. 290.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA. CALCUTTA.

- 9 रितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो बहुद्वा(धा) दुर्वारवैरिकरिक(कं)ठनिर्दलितनिपतनं¹देमल¹मुक्ताफलचर्चि-
- 10 तसंग्रामभूमि² अनवरतप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रोक्तकरो दिग्ज³ इवात्मजः श्रीमदगुकाभिधानः स-
- 11 मभवः(वत्) [1*] तस्य ⁴सुनूरनवरतनिपतन⁵च्छरशा(सी)त्कारसू(शू)न्योक्तरिपुद्गरापिठो⁶ अना-
रतप्र-
- 12 ज्वलदूर्जितप्रतापानलधुष्टसकलदिषदिन्धनसमूहः[*] परिभ्रमःनि(मन्नि)र्मलज(य)शःप्रत्यय-
दंति-
- 13 दंतत्स(स)दावदातद्व(ध)वलीकृतसकलदिक्कु(क्)चक्रवालः संकल्पोचितफलनिकरच्छायोपे-
- 14 तो महामहिम्न⁷ इव प्रकामान(नि)कद्विजसमाश्रयो नाम्नाः(स्त्रा) समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दम-
- 15 हासामंतश्रीराणकः भू(सु)विदित[*] सर्वान(ने)वात्मीयां(यान्) स्वाम्मन्त्रि(न्नि)प(पु)री-
हितामात्यसेनापतियुवराज-
- 16 राजस्थानीयबलाधिकृतोपरिकविश(ष)यपतिशौल्किक्कदुःसाध्यसाधनिकचोरोद्वरणिकवैक्षेपिकभट्ट-
(ट)चार-
- 17 भटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषांत्त⁸निवासिनः ब्राह्मणोत्तरा[न*] वणिक्म(झ)हत्तरकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नः
समनुबोद्ध(ध)यत्यस्तु व[*] सं-
- 18 विदितं यथा मया स्वभुज्यमानपच्छत्रौविषयां(या)न्तःप्रा(पा)तिभेटालिकाभिधानग्रामः(म)
आत्मीयाया[*] प्रचुरतरविम-
- 19 लगुणगणविजितान्यस्त्रीसहस्र(सं) चरितां(तं) स्वभावचरित⁹मानसेन विचार्याव्यभिचार्य
तीर्थ(र्थ) कौलपुत्रं(त्त)माकल-
- 20 य स(सं)यममवद्वा(धा)र्यार्यजनपृत्ती(प्रीति)जननमती¹⁰वृत्तमालोच्य ¹¹शौचं विलोक्य सकल-
लोकम्(प्र)-

¹ Read -*nīpatad-amala*..² Read -*bhūmir-anavarata*..³ Read *dig-gaja*.⁴ Read *sūnu*°.⁵ The letter *na* in this word is superfluous; read -*nīpatach-chhara*°.⁶ Read -*dharāpīṭhō-nārata*.⁷ Read *mahā-mahādihra*.⁸ Read *purushāms=tan-nivāsino*.⁹ The word *charita* is used in the sense of *tushṭa*.¹⁰ Read -*jananam sati*..¹¹ This reading is rather doubtful. The letter preceding *chan* has a faint resemblance to a defective *śau*.

21 ल्यक्षा¹निष्ठतां(ता) ङ(ध)र्मिष्ठतां(ता) स्थाननियमस्य प्रसादः[*] प्रसादारोपणस्येति²
कृत्वाग्नि-सा-

22 द्विकाक्षीणप्रीतिरक्षणनिमित्तयय³ कृतपरिण[य*]नाया राज्ञीश्रीचिमेश्वर्या

D.—Grant of Rāṇaka of a subordinate Saindhava branch, G. S. 555.

This grant has been engraved on a set of **two copper-plates**, each of which is $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9$ in size. Near the edge of the plates there are two holes intended for the rings to secure the plates together. Only one ring has been preserved. Its ends are however not embossed with any seal. The fish emblem of the dynasty appears at the end of the inscription on the second plate. This method of putting the seal of the dynasty immediately at the end of the inscription is followed in the remaining charters of this series, as also in some other plates issued by its later members. In a way it is no doubt a better method to prevent additional matter being interpolated in the documents in the space lying vacant at the end of the record, as was done by the grantee of Charter A. The seal emblem on the ring does not prevent such a tampering with the original record.

The weight of the plates together with the ring is 331 *tolas*. 24 lines are engraved on the first plate and 22 on the second. Though the duct of the handwriting of the present charter is graceful, its engraving has been done very carelessly. As a consequence it teems with mistakes, though they are not so numerous as those in Charter C. The left side of the first plate has not been properly dressed. The engraving instrument has slipped from the engraver's hands in several places. In l. 36 however the engraver has corrected a mistake and inserted the letter *mā* (*ma*), which was accidentally omitted, just below the line near its proper place.

The observations made about the **language and characters** of Charter A hold good about this record also. Only a few additional remarks are necessary. The form of *na* of this record is of the normal type and differs from that in Charter B, where it can be hardly distinguished from that of *ma*. The distinction between the forms of the letters *s* and *ś* is real, though rather subtle. The form of the letter *r* in *sārtha* in l. 7 is noteworthy. The mark for an *avagraha* appears in a few places, e.g., *garīyō=para* in l. 1, *Duśśāsano=śakrid* in l. 9, etc., but it is omitted in most cases. The mistakes of *sandhi* are quite numerous in the record. The punctuation is very defective, the punctuation mark being unnecessarily inserted in several places; see ll. 11, 12, 16, 20, 31, 37, 38, etc.

The charter is partly in prose and partly in verse. The metrical portion consists as usual of the imprecatory verses occurring at the end, and of two verses coming thereafter giving the date of the record and the name of the composer. In ll. 30-1, there are two more verses in the *Aryā* metre,⁴ which give the names of the donees. These verses are not easy to detect, because some of the adjectives qualifying a noun in the first of them occur in the earlier prose portion. The **composer** of the record is **Vakula**, son of **Viṭṭhaka**.

¹ Read *pratyaksha-nishṭhatā*.

² It is difficult to construe this sentence satisfactorily; I would tentatively suggest the following construction:—स्थाननियमस्य प्रसादारोपणस्य प्रसादः सकललोकप्रत्यक्षनिष्ठता धर्मिष्ठता इति कृत्वा

³ Read *-nimittāya*.

⁴ My attention was drawn to these verses by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

The grantor of the present charter is **Mahāsāmanta Śrī-Rāṇaka**, who was a grandson of king **Jāika I** of Charters A and B through his son **Agguka**. Ll. 21-24 of the record inform us that Agguka, the father of the donor, eventually subdued the desire for pleasures, which he had long enjoyed, and decided to crown his son himself, noticing how Lakshmi, the goddess of Royal Fortune, had become eager to be united with his son Rāṇaka, who had become quite capable of bearing the burden of administration. The coronation of the son took place in the lifetime and under the supervision of the father. How Agguka, the father of Rāṇaka, was probably not the eldest son of his father Jāika I, and how his abdication in favour of his son was probably due, less to *vairāgya* and more to an apprehension that his elder brother Chā-muṇḍarāja may resume his principality after his death, has been already shown in the general introduction (*ante*, pp. 193-194).

The date of the present charter is given in words in l. 44 ; we are told that it was issued when five hundred and fifty-five years of the Gupta-samaya had elapsed. As the name and day of the month are not given, the precise date cannot be ascertained. We can only say that it was issued sometime in A.D. 874-5.

The village granted by the charter was **Pippalapadra**, situated in the district of **Suvarṇa-maṇjarī**. Half of its revenues were assigned to a group of temples dedicated to **Hari, Hari-daśva** (the sun), **Vināyaka** and the **Divine Mothers**, which were erected on the outskirts of the city by **Śivarudra**, who was a *karpaṭin*, i.e., an ascetic dressed in rags. The donee of the other half of the village is curiously enough not specified ; we are told that it was assigned to *kasmaichin=maṭha-patayē*, to a certain head of a *maṭha*. This *maṭha-pati* was probably not the chief priest in charge of the temple, where these deities were installed ; for then the wording should have been *ētan=maṭha-patayē*.¹ L. 32 also refers to the separate enjoyment of the property by the group of the temples and the chief of the *maṭha*. The chief of the *maṭha* was also to utilise the property for the upkeep of the temple and its worship ; he was therefore associated probably with another temple. Like numerous temples and *maṭhas* of the medieval period in South India, this *maṭha* may also have been a religious and educational establishment ; our record, however, has nothing to say on the point.

Of the places mentioned in this grant, **Pippalapadra**, the village granted, must have been one of the numerous villages in western Kāthiāwār which bears at present the name of **Piplia**. It is not possible definitely to identify **Suvarṇamaṇjarī** the headquarters of the district in which this village was situated. It may be one of the villages bearing the name **Sonpur**, which exists at present in northern Kāthiāwār. Or, it may be the village **Sōnwāriā**, which is 12 miles north-east of Ghumli. The latter identification looks phonetically more probable, but there is one circumstance going against it. The village Dadhipadraka, given in Charter B, was so close to Sōnwāriā, that one would expect it to be located in Suvarṇamaṇjarī district, and not in Pachchhatrī district as that charter states. I am unable to identify **Dēṇḍanibhaṭṭa** village, to which the first donee belonged.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

1 ॐ³ स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्तिलकामरावतीसंभवर्द्धिस्वर्द्धिभूतांबिलिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपरसु-
राष्ट्रामण्डलमण्ड-

¹ An alternative reading *ētan-maṭh-ādhīpatayē* would have suited the exigencies of the metre as well.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Indicated by a symbol.

- 2 नोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्णप्रकाशशरन्निशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिया(ज)यशोराशिः(शि)खा-
मलितसगर्वश-
- 3 क्षुसामन्तसीमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्र-
तापः स्वह-
- 4 दयसमीक्षितहितविभवदानहेलासमाह्लादितसकलसुहृल्लोकः समररसभरधरोद्गुरोर्जितजितप्रण-
तवैरिशिरो-
- 5 रा(र)त्तदृश्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणखमयूखचितपादपीठप्रान्तः करवाल इवापवर्जितसहजकलङ्क-
शङ्कः प-
- 6 रिवाररक्षानपेक्षितस्यष्टष्टशक्तिरनष्टाभिमुखापतद्विपक्षक्षतिविहामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्रहृष्टायशा-
लिश्री-
- 7 मल्लैश्वरवंशेश्वरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजाईकः [1*] सुतोभवत्तस्यापि
चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थ-
- 8 नासप्रर्थः प्रोत्कर्षदुःसाहभरो भरत इवाचलदुचितचरितसमाराधितरामो भारतमल्लस्तृ(त)-
तीयः(य)पार्थ इवापार्थकीक-
- 9 तजगदुदितकीर्त्तिः(र्त्ति)दुर्धरधनुर्धरो वृकोदर इव सततरुधिरपानकरणास्फुरणीकृतदुःशम-
नोऽसकृदपसहि(हसि)तदुर्योधन-
- 10 च । सर्वतः स्वगर्वतः समुत्सारितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव प्रवर्द्धमानतजोरा-
शिरशिशिरप्रतापसंतापिताति-
- 11 दृप्तसामन्तसपत्नयत्नः शार्ग(र्ग)धन्वेव¹ पृ(प्रि)यसत्योति[दूर*]विक्षिप्तनरकोपद्रवशङ्कः ।²
शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्वतीयजनो ज-
- 12 नोदितसहजपुरुषकारातिरिक्तकरदीकृतप्रातिराज्यभूभृदुत्करः ।² ऐच्छि कृपाणपाणिभिरपि रिपु-
भिरभिभवोद्भु(द्भू)तसम्भा-
- 13 न्तनयनेर्नयनैपुणसाफल्यप्रकटीभवत्पुण्यसंभारः(रो) भारतीसमानन्दितप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणा-
रविन्दवन्दनस(सं)-
- 14 म्व(व)र्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोऽतनुतनुशोभाभाविततरुणीजनमनःप्रसरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहा-
सामन्तश्रीमदगुकः [1*]

¹ What looks like a medial *ā* sign here is due to the slipping of the instrument.

² The *danda* is unnecessary here.

[illegible]

- 15 तस्माच्च शक्तियुतः शंकरादिव शिखिवाहनः श्रुतिविशुद्धमानसो मुरारिनाभिपद्मादिवः(व)
कमलधोनिः सकललोकलोच-
- 16 नानन्दकरः क्षीरसागरादिव रजनिकरः कलिकलङ्कमलिनीकृतं कृतयुगमंभवं सच्चरित-
चित्रमिवोन्मूलयितुं ।¹ धर्मादिवाजा-
- 17 तश्चतुः समुत्पन्नः(त्रः) समासन्नप्रणयिजनी(न)मनःसमीहितार्थसकललोकसंपादनक्षमः क्षत्रि-
(पि)तविपक्षव(व)धमललोचना-
- 18 नवरताश्रुजलसंताप²शमितकोपानलप्रसरो निरतिशयनिश्चितनिस्तं(स्त्रिं)श्रवियुक्तापरिच्छिन्नवर्भि-
रिपुमेघवृन्द-
- 19 स्यन्दद³नवरतरक्तोदविन्दुधार(रा)सारतयासक्तदुपदर्शिताकालजलदवृष्टिविभ्रमोभ्रदोषापगमा-
सादितीदयो भा-
- 20 नुरिवानुरक्तमण्डलो विपक्षभूभृन्मस्तकन्यस्तसान्द्रारुणपादश्च ।⁴ मेरुरिव स्थितिमान(न्) ।⁵
विवुधजनानंदितमानसंश्च
- 21 स्वादुजलोदन्वानिव गभीरो मधुररसाशंसितगुणसमृद्धिश्च । यश्च जीवि(व)तैव पित्रा
चिरक(का)लोपभुक्तानां विषय(या)-
- 22 णां निवृत्ताभिलाषेण सांप्रतमयमेवाखण्डलसमानधामा महावराह इव भुवो मण्डल-
भरधुरां वोढु(ढुं) स-
- 23 मर्थ इति मन्यमानेन तत्समागमोत्कण्ठितां च राजलक्ष्मी(क्ष्मीं) परिकलयता समक्षि-
(मुत्ति)ममङ्गलकलशेन स्वपाणि-
- 24 नाभिपिच्य सिङ्गा(सिंहा)सनमधिरोपितः समधिगताशेषम[हा*]शब्दमहासामन्त्र्योराणकः
सर्वा-

Second Plate.

- 25 नेवात्मीयान्मंत्रिपुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमात्रि(त्)बलाधिकृतोपरिक-
- 26 विषयपतिशौलिककदुःसाधसाधनिकचोरोद्धरणकवैत्रेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषान्(षां)-
- 27 त(स्त)न्निवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरा⁵न्वण्डहत्तरकुटुम्बिनः समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
मया स्वभुज्यमानसुवर्ण-
- 28 मंजरीविषयसंगृहीतपिप्पलपद्माभिधानग्रामस्यार्द्धममुना देण्डनीभट्टग्रामभुवा भट्टशंखधर-
पौत्रेण पू-

¹ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary here.

² Read *-sāmpāta*.

³ The correct form is *syandamāna*.

⁴ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁵ Between the letters *tu* and *rā*, there is space for one letter, where probably a letter was first engraved and then erased.

- 29 ण्सूनुना वसिष्ठगोत्रेण बहुचसन्नचारिणा शिवरुद्राभिधानेन कर्पटिना बाह्यालीपरि-
सरमनु सन्नि[वे*]-
- 30 शिताभ्यः ।¹
हरिहरिदशविनायकमादृभ्यो भक्तिभारमुद्वहता ।
दत्तं करभोगयुतं सहदण्डदशापराधं चा(च) ।[1*1]
अस्यैवा-
- 31 परमर्द्धं ग्रामस्य तथै[व*] करभरोपेतं(तम्) ।
कस्मैचिन्मठपतये देवालयपालनारतये ।[12*]
एवमिमं स[म*]स्तमपि ग्रामं भुञ्ज-
- 32 तो देवकुलानां मठस्य वाप्युपकनसरस च² खण्डस्फुटितादिमांस्त्राच³माचरतो न केन-
चिद्देशाधिपतिना परिपंथ-
- 33 ना कार्या । भाविभिरपि भद्रनृपतिभिरस्रद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिः-
(द्भि)रनित्यान्यैस्वर्याणि ।⁴
- 34 मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिहितजललोलमाकलथ्य दुःप(दुष्प)रिहरभ्रंशं
क्षणिकञ्च जीवि-
- 35 तमालीक्यातिप्रचुरकदर्शनासंचितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपशिखाचंचलमालीक्य ।⁴ वाच्यताद्युति-
कामैरम-
- 36 लमण्डलशरदिन्दुद्युतिधवल्यशोवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमा⁵(म)नोभिरात्म-
कं(च्छं)दतीयमस्र-
- 37 हर्मदायोतु(नु)मन्तव्यः ।⁴ व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपरिपाकजनिताश्च यातना मनसि
निधाय पूर्वधार्मिक-
- 38 नृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापातकसमयश्रावणां च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं
न प्रसन्नत्वं ॥⁴ छु-
- 39 तिकारोपदिष्टं(ष्टम्) ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेना(त्ता)
चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[13*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

¹ This punctuation mark is intended to separate the preceding prose portion from the following two verses.

² Read *vāpy-uparāna-sarasām cha*.

³ For *-māmanācha*, read *-samakāra*.

⁴ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁵ This letter *mā* (*ma*), which was left out, has been later engraved below the line under the letter *nā*.

- 40 यो हरेतु(त्तु) वसुधरां(राम्) । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हतुः(न्तुः) प्राप्नोति नि(कि)त्वि(त्वि)-
षं(षम्) ॥[४*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतीयासु शुष्ककीटरवासिनः । कृष्णाह-
- 41 योभिजायन्ते देवदायापहारकाः ॥[५*] लोहचूर्णीश्मचूर्णं च विपच्च जरयेन्नरः ।
ब्रह्मस्त्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु कः पुमाञ्च-
- 42 रयिष्यति ॥[६*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्ययशस्क[रा*]णि ।
निर्माय्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा-
- 43 धुः पुनराददीत ॥[७*] बहुभिर्बुधसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[८*]
- 44 संवत्सरपंचशतीं सपंचपंचाशतं समधिरुह्य । गौते सर्पति समये ग्रामं श्रीराणकः
प्रादात् ॥[९*] स्वहस्ती-
- 45 यं समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीराण[क*]स्य ॥ श्रीराणके महीभृति विद्वक्-
सूनौ च लिपिक-
- 46 रे वकुले । स्वयमत्र दूतकीभूद्युवराजो जां(जा)ई(इ)^१कः श्रीमान् ॥[१०*]॥^२

E.—Grant of king Agguka III ; Gupta Samvat 567.

This grant has been engraved on a set of two-copper plates, which were once secured together by means of two rings passing through two holes pierced near the edge. Only one of these rings has been preserved at present. There is no fish seal of the dynasty embossed at the place where its ends have been joined together as is the case with the rings of Charters A and B. We find the fish emblem appearing at the end of the charter on the second plate as is the case with Charters D and F.

The size of the first plate is $14\frac{5}{8}'' \times 9\frac{2}{16}''$ and that of the second $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. The weight of both the plates together with the extant ring is $386\frac{3}{4}$ tolas.

There are 18 lines on the first plate and 19 on the second. Generally speaking the characters are similar to those of Charter D, but the form of the letter *śa* is slightly different. It is interesting to add that the characters of this charter show a close resemblance to those of the Unā plates of Avani-varman II,³ issued 16 years earlier from South Kāthiāwār. The engraver of the charter was a good calligraphist, and his flourishes of medieval *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *dau* are graceful. There are however several mistakes in engraving and they become very numerous in the last four or five lines. At two places, however, in ll. 13 and 17, two accidentally omitted letters, *la* and *na* respectively, have been engraved just below their proper place.

¹ The shortening of *ī* is required for metrical purpose.

² There is a circular symbol between two sets of *daṇḍas* at the end of the line.

³ *Ante*, Vol. IX, plate between pp. 130-131.

With reference to **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the use of the *avagraha*. In some cases like *pri(pri)ya-satyō=tidūra-* ll. 9-10, its use is normal, but in two cases it has been used when a preceding *ā* has been coalesced with a succeeding *a*; cf. *Bhūtāmvilik-ā'bhidhāna-* l. 1 and *sāratay-ā'sakrid*, l. 16.

The **language** of the charter is ornate Sanskrit. The writer **Jhōjjha**, who was a son of Mādhava, has introduced some new similes and metaphors, which to some extent relieve the monotony which cannot but be felt by a reader of the present series of charters. This same writer has composed Charter F of the present series issued in Gupta Sāmvat 596, and the Morbi plate of Jāika issued in Gupta Sāmvat 585. Jhōjjha obviously seems to have lived to a ripe old age.

The present charter records a village-grant made by **Mahāsāmantādhipati Agguka III** of the main Saindhava house, who was a son of king **Chāmuṇḍarāja** and grandson of **Jāika I**. We have already discussed the circumstances, which make it very probable that Agguka III represented the senior of the two lines founded by the two sons of Jāika I (*ante*, pp. 195-196). We may only add here that the title of Agguka III *Mahāsāmantādhipati* is more exalted than that of his cousin Rānaka of Charter D, which is merely *Sāmantādhipati*.

The **date** of the present grant is given in words in its penultimate verse, which states that it was made on a new moon day when five hundred and sixty-seven autumns had elapsed according to the Gupta era. As the month of the new moon is not given, the precise date of the grant cannot be found; it must have been issued sometime in A.D. 886-7.

The **donees** of this grant were two brothers, **Rudra** and **Sāgara**, sons of **Guhēsvara**, who were Yajurvēdin Brāhmaṇas of Vatsa *gōtra* residing at **Gōmūtrikā** situated in the district of **Kāryāyātakachchha**. The grant was given to the donees not for their own individual use, but for being utilised for the purpose of the local Brāhmaṇa assembly, of which they were probably trustees or leading members; cf. *brahma-samsad-upabhōgyatāyai*, l. 25. The precise purpose of the grant is not stated; it is however probable that the Brāhmaṇas of Gōmūtrikā, which appears to have been a holy place, may have been maintaining some educational institutes or temples or both, and the grant may have been intended to meet the expenses in that connection.

The village granted was **Harishēṇānaka**, situated in the district of **Svarapamañjarī**. Its boundaries not being given, it cannot be identified with certainty; but it is probably the same as the modern village **Harīāsana**, situated in Nawanagar state as has been suggested to me by the Dewansahab of Porbandar after a careful enquiry. I am unable to identify the village Gōmūtrikā from which the donee hailed or the district of Kāryāyātakachchha, in which it was situated.

In l. 23 of the present charter there are a large number of fiscal terms mentioned in connection with the revenues of the village granted, the purport of which is difficult to make out. It would appear that some of them like *vaṭaṅki* and *chinglā* are Sanskritised forms of Prākṛit words. They are not to be met with either in Sanskrit or Prākṛit dictionaries. *Bhāga-bhōga-kara* and *da-āparādha-daṇḍa* are usual expressions in land grants and require no comment. *Dāni* in old Gujarātī denoted a customs officer; so *sarva-pāt-ābhyaḡāmi-dānyu* would probably denote octroi duties on articles imported. *Pōtra* means a boat, and so *pōtrā* may denote the tax on articles imported in boats. *Mārgakā* might denote some levy realised from persons who had got back their lost articles, or it may be a levy on goods collected on the roadside (before they entered a city), as suggested to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्त्य(स्ति)लकालकासम्भर्द्धिस्पर्द्धिभूताम्बि(म्बि)लिका³ऽभिधाननगरीगरी-
योपरसुराद्रामण्डलमण्ड-
- 2 नोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासौत्संपूर्णशरन्निशाकरशिमप्रतानविशदयशोराशिष्यामलितसगर्वसामन्तस्री-
मन्तिनीवद-
- 3 नारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकस्थानल्पप्रसरत्प्रतापः स्वहृदयसमी-
हितहितविभवदान-
- 4 फलसमाल्ला(ल्ला)दितवन्भुजनः समररसभरोद्गुरोर्जितजितप्रणतवैरिगिरोरत्नष्टृथमाणस्फुरच्चरण-
नखमयूखख-
- 5 चितपादपीठप्राप्त(न्तः) करवाल इवापवर्जितसहजकलङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररक्षानपेक्ष्या(क्षा)-
तिस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरपरिमितस्निग्ध-
- 6 तरपक्षशाखासञ्चयशालिश्रीमत्सैन्धववंशशेखरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्री-
जार्दकः [।*] सुतोभव-
- 7 तस्यापि चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्पदुत्साहभरो भारतमन्त्रः(न्त्र)वृ(स्तृ)तीयः(य)पार्थ
इवाशात्रवीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्द्ध-
- 8 रधनुर्दरो वृकोदर इव सतरुधिरपानास्फुरणीकृतदुःशास'नोसकृदपहसितदुर्योधनश्च सर्वतः
स्वगर्वतः समुत्सा-
- 9 रितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव वर्द्धमानतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसंतापितोत्तुंगच्छामृदंगः
शार्ङ्गधन्वेव पृ(प्रि)यस-
- 10 ल्योऽतिदूरविक्षिप्तनरकोपद्रवाशङ्कश्च श(शं)कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्वतीयजनो जनोचितसहज-
पुरुषकारातिरेककरदीक-
- 11 तप्रातिराज्यभूभृत्(दु) भारतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दित'सकलप्रणयिजनमनःप्रसरः समधिगताशेष-
महाशब्दमहासामन्तश्री-

¹ From ink-impressions.² Indicated by a symbol.³ This *avagraha* is unnecessary.⁴ The engraver first engraved the letter *śa* and then transformed it into *sz* without erasing the loop of *śa*.⁵ A very small *ta* has been unnecessarily engraved above the line between *ndi* and *ta*.

- 12 चामुण्डराजाभिधानोतिधन्यस्तनयोभवत्¹स्माच्च शक्तियुक्तः शङ्करादिव शिखिवाहनः श्रुति-
विशुद्धमानसो मुरारिनाभिपद्मा-
- 13 दिव कमल²योनिः सकललोकलोचनानन्दकरो रत्नाकरादिव रजनिकरः कलिकलङ्क-
मलिनीकृतकृतयुगसंभवं सच्च-
- 14 रितचित्रमिवोन्मील[यि*]तं धर्मादिवाजातशत्रुस्समुत्पनः(नः) समासन्नप्रणयिजनमनःसमीहि-
ताधिकफलसम्पादनक्षमः क्ष-
- 15 पितविपक्षव(व)ध्वमललोचनानवरतश्रुत³जलसंपातशमितकोपानलप्रसरो निरतिशयनिशितनिस्तुं-
(स्त्रिं)शविद्युक्तापरिच-
- 16 तवस्मिरिपुमेष्वहन्दस्यन्द⁴नवरतरक्तोदवि(वि)न्दुधारासारतयाऽ⁵सक्तदुपदर्शिताकालजलदवृष्टिविभ-
मोअ(ऽ)नम्भदो-
- 17 षापगमासादितोदयो भानुरिवानुरक्तमण्डलो विपक्षभूभृन्मस्तकन्यस्तारुणपादश्च मेरुरिव
स्थितिमान् विबुधजनान⁶न्दि-
- 18 तमानसश्च प्रणतसमस्तनृपगणममृणपृथुललाटतटशिलाष्टथमाणचरणनखमयु(यू)खविक्षेपो-

Second Plate.

- 19 ज्वलीकृतनजिमहिमसंचयः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ना(न्ता)धिपतिश्चैमदगुकः सर्वा-
नैवात्मीयानमात्य-
- 20 पुरोहितजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयोपरिकवलाधिकृतविषयपतिशौक्लिकदुःसाधसाधनिकचौरोद्ध-
रणिकवैद्य-
- 21 पिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषान्⁷ तन्निवासित्राह्मणोत्तरान् वणिग्म(ञ्ज)हत्तरकुटुबि(स्त्रि)नश्च
समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं य-
- 22 धा मया स्वभुज्यमानस्वर्णमज(ञ्ज)र्यभिधानविषयसम्बद्धमानः पु(पू)र्व्वप्रसिद्धचतुर्दिक्य(क्त)-
रिच्छिन्(न्न)स्वसीमासमवेतः सभोगभागः मद-

¹ The sentence ends with =bhavat, and so there should have been a *danda* after that word.

² The letter *la* is inscribed below the line under the letter *ma*.

³ Read either -navarata-sruṭa-jala- or -navarat-āśru-jala-.

⁴ The correct form is *syandamāna*.

⁵ The *anagrahā* mark is unnecessary.

⁶ The letter *na* is written below the line between the letters *nā* and *ndi*.

⁷ Read -*purushāms=an-*.

SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:
E.—GRANT OF KING AGGUKA III; GUPTA SAMVAT 567.

i.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 २ गणेशाय नमः ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 ४ उल्लसन्निभः पद्मनाभः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 ६ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 ८ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 १० विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 १२ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 १४ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 १६ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 १८ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥

ii.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 २० गणेशाय नमः ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 २२ उल्लसन्निभः पद्मनाभः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 २४ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 २६ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 २८ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 ३० नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 ३२ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 ३४ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥
 ३६ विष्णुसंज्ञितो वासुदेवः ॥ श्रीगोपीपुत्रस्य भक्त्युत्तमः ॥

- 23 ण्डदशापराधः सर्वपाताभ्यागाभिदान्युपोत्रामार्गकप्राहुणकवैटंकोचिह्नोलादिनिमित्तनैमित्ति-
कपुरस्सरसमग्रीपादानस-
- 24 हितः सवृक्षमालाकुलः(लो) देवदायब्रह्मदायवर्जो हरिषिणाणकाभिधानग्रामः कार्यायात-
कच्छविषयात्तः(न्तः)पातिगोमूत्रिका-
- 25 भिधानस्थानवास्तव्यवच्छ(त्स)सगोत्रवाजिमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारित्राह्मणगुहेश्व[र*]सुतरुद्रसागरा-
भ्यां ब्रह्मसंसदुपभोग्यतायै पयः-
- 26 पूर्वमासूर्याचन्द्रमसाव(व¹)धेः सन्तत्युपयोगाय स्वपुन्य(ण्य)यशोभिवृद्धये ब्रह्मदायः प्रति-
पादितोस्य² च भुञ्जती न केनचिद्देशाधि-
- 27 पतिना परिपत्यना कार्या [1*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मदंशयै(जै)रन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भु(भू)मिदानद(फ)लमनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि मानुथकमपि
- 28 प्रव(ब)लमारुताहतपद्मिनोपचस्थितजल[ल*]वलोलमाकलय्य दुःप(दुष्प)रिहरदुःखं क्षणिक-
ञ्च जीवितमालोक्य अ³तिप्रचुरक-
- 29 दर्शनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपशिखाचञ्चलमालोच्य वाच्यतायुतिकामैरतिस्त्रच्छमनोभिर-
यमस्मद्वर्मादायोनुम-
- 30 न्तव्यः [1*] व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाकजनिताश्च यातनाः(ना) मनसि
निधाय पूर्वधार्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपञ्च-
- 31 महापातकसमयः(य)श्चावणां च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमान्यैगच्छितभिरिदमनुस्म-
त्त(त्त)व्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं वचः [1*] षष्टिं वर्ष-
- 32 सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं(के)
वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां स्वा(वा) यो हरेन्तु(त्तु) वसुधरां(राम्) [1*] गवां शत-
सहस्र-
- 33 स्य हंतुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पू(पु)रा नरेन्द्रैर्हानानि धर्मा-
र्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः

¹ Read =ā sūrya-chandr-āvadhēh. The vedic expression, sūryā-chandramasau, denoting the dual divinity of the sun and the moon, was in the writer's mind here ; he has combined it with the word avadhēh following.

² A sandhi has been wrongly made here between the last word of the first sentence and the first word of the next sentence. Read pratipāditaḥ । Asya

³ Read =ālōku=āti.

⁴ Read °nair=āgāmibhir=.

- 34 पुनराददीत ॥ बहुभिर्बुधु भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ इति कमलदलाम्बु(स्व)वि(वि)न्दुलोला(लां)
- 35 त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यकौचि(जीवि)तश्च [1*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं(त)श्च बुद्धा(द्धा) न हि
पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलाप्याः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीमदगुकस्य ॥ सप्त-
- 36 युय(त)षट्सिंहिते शरदां शतपं(प)ञ्चके गति गौप्ते [1*] स्वर्मानुयोगम(मि)न्दौ दधति
शुचाविदमदाह्लितियः(पः) ॥ इयमभ्यलेखि सुधिया वन्ने(र्ष)ततिर्मा-
- 37 धवस्य तनयेन [1*] गुणिना शासनसंज्ञा श्लोक्मिन नराधिपादेशात् ॥ इति ॥

F.—Grant of king Jāika II; Gupta Samvat, 596.

This record has been engraved on a set of **two copper-plates**, which have been held together by means of two rings passing through two holes made near the edge. The **fish symbol**, the insignia of the dynasty, is not embossed on either ring, but is engraved at the end of the second plate. The size of the 1st plate is $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$ and that of the 2nd $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$, and the weight of both the plates and the rings is $495\frac{1}{4}$ *tolas*. They are thus much heavier than the other plates of this set.

21 lines have been engraved on the first plate and 20 on the second. The engraving has been done fairly well, though there are several mistakes. The *mātrās* for medial *i* and *ī* show graceful and sweeping curves; the same is the case with the left-side limb of *la*. The **language** and the **characters** are similar to those of Charter E issued by the father of the present donor. As there have been introduced as many as seven ancestors of the donor in the genealogy, and as only two plates were to be used for the record, the description of the earlier rulers has been done briefly in two or three adjectives only. Many of the phrases and expressions used in this connection are new, though unfortunately most of them are quite useless for the purpose of the historian.

As to **orthography**, the only observation that need be made is about the punctuation. It is very defective. A large number of punctuation marks have been unnecessarily used in the record; see ll. 13, 17, 21, 23, 24, etc.

The grant recorded in this charter was made by **Mahāsāmantādhipati Śrī-Jāika II**, son of king **Agguka** who had issued Charter E. The present charter gives the longest genealogy, going back to the 7th ancestor of the donor. It has been already discussed in the general introduction. We may only add here that the members of the collateral families founded by **Krishṇarāja**, brother of Jāika I and by **Agguka**, brother of **Chāmūṇḍarāja II**, are naturally omitted from this genealogy.

The charter has been **dated** both in words and in numerals; ll. 39 and 40 inform us that it was issued on the full-moon day of **Āshāḍha** when five hundred and ninety-six years had elapsed according to the Gupta era. In the absence of further details, the exact date cannot be verified, but it was most probably Thursday, the 29th of June 915 A.D., when there was the full-moon day of **Āshāḍha**.

The charter records that the revenues of the village **Chhampāṇaka** were assigned to **Sāhē Janārdana** and others to be spent for **Nanna-maṭhikā**, which had been founded by a merchant

named Nanna, hailing from Bhillamāla or modern Bhinmal. This *Nanna-maṭhikā* may have been a mere temple like *Purushōttama-maṭhikā* to the north-east of which it was situated. But Nanna as the name of an Indian deity is not known, and the temples named after their founders usually bear an *īśvara* suffix added to their founders' names. Thus a temple founded by Nanna would be known as Nannēśvara and not merely as *Nanna-maṭhikā*. *Maṭhikā* or *maṭha* also denotes a place where spiritual and educational lessons are imparted, and ll. 27-8 lay down that Sāhē Janārdana and others, who were to hold the property, were expected to be engaged in sacred studies. It is therefore probable that what Nanna had done was to found a school or college rather than a temple; or his temple itself may have become a seat of learning, as was the case with so many shrines of ancient and medieval periods. One-fourth of the revenue of the village was to be utilised for feeding Brāhmaṇas every day; these may have included the poor students of the college. Three-fourths of the income was to be utilised for the expenses of the *maṭha*, probably consisting of the pay of the teachers, stipends to students, and worship of the temple, if it was included in the *maṭha* establishment.

Of the places mentioned in the record, *Svarṇamañjarī* and *Bhillamāla* have been already met with. The village *Cbhampāpaka* that was granted was probably the same as modern *Chāvand*, situated about 15 miles north of Junagad. If we are correct in holding that the rather cryptic expression, which gives the boundaries of the village, states that the village *īśvarāpaka* was to its north, then the above identification would become very probable, for to the north of modern Chāvand is situated the village of *īśvariā*. Other boundary villages however cannot be traced in the survey maps.

TEXT¹

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्ति लकालकासंभवर्द्धिस्वर्द्धिभूतावि(वि)लिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपर-
सुचा(रा)ष्ट्रमण्डलमण्डनोपर-
- 2 समुद्राधिपतिश्रीमज्जयद्रथवंशशेखरः श्रीपुण्यदेवाभिधानः क्षितिपतिर्बभूव । तस्य च
कुवलयदलश्यामलैक-
- 3 चारुकरभ्राजमानानवद्यपुष्करतया³ विनायकौकतसा(स)कलसपद्ममण्डलः श्रीकृष्णराजनामा
न(त)नयोभवत् ।
- 4 तस्यापि विपुलविपुलविप्रतीकपयोधिवलजलनिमग्नस्वभूमण्डलोद्धारणसौकर्यलीलाप्रकटितमहा-
- 5 वराहमहिमा श्रीमदगुकाभिधान⁴ स्वस्यापि निशितनिस्तृ(स्त्रिं)शपातक्षतविपक्षक्षतिचरत्क्षत-
जराज्यनुरज्यमा-

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Indicated by a symbol.

³ The word *pushkara* is here used in the unusual sense of a sword.

⁴ The word *tanayak* has been probably omitted here through inadvertence.

- 6 नाजिद्वितितलजयथोः श्रीराणकनामा¹ तस्य च प्रणमदूर्जितानंतसामंतमसृणपृथुललाट-
तटशिलाशाणाष्ट-
- 7 व्यमाणम्पुरचरणनखमयूखविघ्नेष्वल(लो)कृतनिजमहिमसंचयः ।² अनेकनिकपटवलिपं(वं)-
धप्रबंधप्रकटित
- 8 सातिरेककृतयुगव्यवस्थः ।³ एकाच्युतोरस्थलावस्थानावसीदन्मानसयेव श्रिया समाश्रु(श्रि)त-
सर्व्वविवः श्रीजाई-
- 9 कनामा सूनुरभूत् । तस्य च समग्रशरन्निशाकर⁴रश्मिप्रतानविशदयशोराशिश्चामलितस-
गर्व्वशत्रुसामंत-
- 10 सौमंतिनोवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलज्ज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रतापः
श्रीचा-
- 11 मुण्डराजाभिधानस्तनयस्तस्माच्च(च) शक्तियुक्तः शङ्क(ङ्क)रादिव शिखण्डिवाहनः श्रुतिविश्र-
[ङ्क*]मानसो मुरारिनाभि-
- 12 नलिनादिव नलिनयोनिः सकललोकलोचनानंदकरो रत्नाकरादिव रजनिकरः कलिक-
लंकर्मलिनो-
- 13 कृतं कृतयुगसंभवं सच्चरितचित(त्र)मिवोन्मीलयितुं धम्मा(म्मा)दिवाजातशत्रुः समुत्पन्नः(न्नः) ।⁵
सकलप्रणयिजनम-
- 14 नःममौहिताधिकफलसंपादनकल्पपादपः क्षपितविपक्षप(व)ध्वमा(म)ललोचनानवरतस्रुताश्रुज-
लसंपा-
- 15 तशमितकोपानलप्रसरो बहुविपक्षपशुवधसिद्धिसमरमखदीक्षाचार्यः ।⁶ श्रीमदगुकाभिधा-
नोतिधन्य-
- 16 स्तनयोभवत्तस्य च तुरगखरखुरसुखोन्मत्तबहलबलधूलोवितानजायमानसमदकरिकरटगलि-
- 17 तदानजलसीकरासारजनितपंकानुबंधः कृपाणधाराभिहतायतध(व)र्मशतसमुद्गीर्णवर्द्धिस्फूर्तिग-
खद्यो-
- 18 तमालाखचितसमरदुर्द्दिनः ।⁷ पृथुर्यशसि ।⁸ अजातशत्रुर्व्वचसि ।⁹ तपनस्तेजसि ॥¹⁰ मरु-
त्तरसि कंदर्पो वयसि ।¹¹ ज-

¹ A word like *sutab* has to be supplied here. From Charters A and B, we know that Rāpaka was a son of Aggraka.

² This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

³ The letter *in* is defectively engraved; the right hand horizontal stroke is missing.

⁴ After *-bhakat*, a punctuation mark should have been inserted to mark the end of the sentence.

SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:
F.—GRANT OF KING JAIKA II; GUPTA SAMVAT 596.

i.

2 3 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

... (Sanskrit text on copper plate i) ...

ii.

22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40

22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40

... (Sanskrit text on copper plate ii) ...

- 19 नको मित्रांजसि¹ ।² समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतिश्रोजाईकः सर्वनिवामात्य-
युवराजराजपु-
- 20 चदेशाधिपतिविषयाधिकृतदुःसाध्यसाधनिकचौरोद्वरणिकवैद्येपिकचारभटादिकसमस्तराज-
- 21 पुरुषां(षान्) समान्नापयप³त्येवं यथा ।² मया स्वर्षमंजरीविषयसंव(ब)द्वयमानकंपाणकाभि-

Second Plate.

- 22 धानग्रामः सभोगभागः सवृत्तमालः सदण्डदशापराधः करहिरण्यादानयुतः समस्तोपा-
- 23 दानसहितः ।² दानीमार्गणकादियथादेशकालगृह्यमाणसमस्तोपादानसहितो देवदायव्र-
(ब्र)ह्मदा-
- 24 यवर्जः ।² लूषापटक ईश्वराणक ।² भ्रमरकक ।² हुडुंवि(बि)लिकाख्यैश्चतुर्भिः
प्रतिगोष्ठीग्रामैः पूर्वदिदिक्(ड)मध्या-
- 25 वस्थितैराघाटायमानैः स्वभुवा कृतसीमापरिच्छित्ति(त्तिः) प्राक्तनसमस्तस(श)स्तसीमापर्यंतो
भूताम्बि(म्बि)लिकापत्तन-
- 26 स्वतलमध्यवत्ति(त्ति)प(पु)रुषोत(त्त)ममधि(ठि)कासंनिहितपूर्वोत्तरदिग्भागावस्थितायै श्रीभिल्लमा-
लीयव्यवहरक(हारिक)ननंकृतप्र-
- 27 तिष्ठायै तन्नामांकितायै नन्नमधि(ठि)कायै तदुपयोगिव्ययनिमित्तं साहेजनाईनादिषु कृत-
पालनाविधिषु यथाकालं
- 28 भवत्सु स्वाध्यायिषु स्वधर्मयशोभिवृद्धये पयःपूर्वमा शशांकतपनार्थवस्थितः प्रतिपादितः ।
चतुर्थश्च भागोऽस्य
- 29 ब्राह्मणानां प्रातिदिवसिकभोजनव्यये कर्तव्यः । भागत्रयं तु मधि(ठि)काव्यये व्ययो-
कार्य[म्*] । अस्य चैवमुपयोगे व्रजतो
- 30 न केनचिद्देशाधिपतिना व्यासिधः परिपंथना वा कार्या । भाविभिश्च भूमिपतिभिः
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलं ।² अनित्या-
- 31 न्यैश्वर्या[णि*] मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रस्थितजललवलोलमाकल्य दुःप-
(दुष्प)रिहरदुक्खं(दुःखं) क्ष-

¹ The meaning of this clause is not clear. Probably a word denoting quality has been omitted after *Janakō*, and we have to read for the last four letters *mitram=añjasi* 'a friend in straightforwardness'. *Añjas*, n. means velocity and *añjasa* adj. has the sense of honest, straightforward.

² This punctuation mark is unnecessary

³ The letter *pa* is redundant; read *samājñāpayaty=*.

- 32 णिकं च जीवितमालोच्यातिप्रचुरकदर्शनासंचितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपं(प)शिखाचंचलमा-
लोच्यायमस्मद्वर्ग-
- 33 दायोनुमंत[व्य*]: । व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितपूर्वधार्मिकनृपप'रिकल्पितपंचमहाष(पा)तकसम-
यश्रावणां च चिंतयित्वा प्र-
- 34 तियाचनानुबद्धमानै[:*] स्मत्तर्क्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं वचः । षष्टि(ष्टि) र्व(व)र्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गं तिष्ठति [भू*]मिद[: ।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमं-
- 35 ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ।[।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्य-
(भिः । य)स्य [यस्य*] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[।*] स्वदत्तां प-
- 36 रदत्तां वा यो हरिन्तु वसुंधरां(राम्) ।[*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हं(ह)न्तुः प्राप्नोति
क्विल्विषं(षम्) ॥ विध्या(भ्या)टवि(वी)श्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
- 37 महाहयो हि जां(जा)यन्ते ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायापहारिणः ।[।*] इति कमलदलानुबिंदुलोलां
श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] स-
- 38 क[ल*]मिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा(ङ्गा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ।[।*] षड-
धिकनवतिसमये शरदां शतपंचके गते गौ-
- 39 मे । अहिताषाढीपर्वणि भूपतिरेन(नं) च² सङ्गत्या । [।*] इयमभ्यलेखि सुधिया वर्स-
ततिर्माधवस्य तनयेन । गुण-
- 40 वति शासनसंज्ञा क्षोज्ज्मेन पटे वृषादेशात् ।[।*] अंकतोपि संवत् ५००, ८०, ६
(५८६) आषाढशुदि १०, ५, (१५) स्वहस्तोयं श्रीजार्द-
- 41 कस्य³ ॥ उद्गिरन्तेद⁴मिह सूत्रधारशंकरसुतमधुसूदनेनि(न) ॥⁵

¹ The second *pa* has been engraved below the line under the first *pa*.

² The letter *cha* has been engraved below the line between *na* and *sa*. There is no verb in the verse; *bhūpatir=ēnam dadau bhaktyā* would therefore be a better reading.

³ Letters *kasya* have been engraved at the end of this line, just before the fish symbol. The division of the king's signature in this queer way may be due to two causes. The idea to engrave the royal sign manual may have occurred later after the whole record was engraved; the space left at the end of l. 40 was utilised for this purpose and when this was found insufficient, the two concluding letters were shoved in between the space lying vacant between the two symbols and the fish symbol at the end of the last line. Or, the engraver Madhusūdana thought that the whole record, including the royal signature, could be finished in l. 40, but before finishing that line he hurried to record his own name in l. 41. When eventually l. 40 was later completed and it was discovered that the last two letters of the king's signature could not be accommodated in that line, there was no alternative but to put them between the symbols at the end of l. 41. Had the engraver been not impatient to put his own name before finishing the record, this queer division of the king's name would not have been necessitated.

⁴ Read *Utkirṇam=idam=*. Probably the form of the word in the text discloses the standard of the knowledge of Sanskrit of the engravers' class.

⁵ There are two conch-like symbols after the punctuation mark. They are followed first by the letters *kasya* and then by the fish symbol. The first symbol looks like the *Om* symbol.

No. 28.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In his article¹ on the date of the Pāṇḍava or Sōmavamśī kings of Southern Kōsala, Mr. A. Ghosh has attempted to show that the date (*viz.*, the second quarter of the sixth century A. D.) which I had tentatively assigned to Tivaradēva of the Sōmavamśī dynasty is too early. According to him Tivaradēva may be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.

The main argument advanced by Mr. Ghosh is palæographical. He has shown by a palæographical chart that the test letters *bh*, *y*, *ś*, *s*, and *h* in the so-called Bhāndak inscription² of Nannarājādhirāja, the father of Tivaradēva and the Śīrpur inscription³ of Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna, the grand-nephew of Tivaradēva, are more developed than those of the Āraṅg copper-plate inscription⁴ of Bhīmasēna II. This latter inscription comes from Chhattīsgarh and as such its evidence is most valuable. Following the late R. B. Hiralal who has edited the plates in this Journal, Mr. Ghosh takes the date of this inscription to correspond to A. D. 601. As the inscription of Nannarāja exhibits more developed forms of the test letters, Mr. Ghosh thinks that the ascription of that inscription to a date earlier than A. D. 650 is a palæographical impossibility. He therefore tentatively places Tivaradēva, the son of Nannarāja or Nannadēva, in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.

It is indeed true that the aforementioned test letters have more developed forms in the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, but these inscriptions need not on that account be referred to a date later than A. D. 650. As the accompanying palæographical chart⁵ will show, these test letters had assumed these later forms even before A. D. 600, for we find all of them in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, dated A. D. 588. In this inscription *bh* and *s* have a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; *y* has become bipartite; *ś* in some cases shows its right vertical stroke projecting a little above its top and the right limb of *h* hangs down. The same developed forms are noticed in the Madhuban plate of Harsha, dated A. D. 631⁶. It may be objected that both these inscriptions come from North India and consequently their evidence is inadmissible for fixing the date of such southern records as the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta. I would, in that case, invite attention to the forms of the test letters in the plates of the time of Śaśāṅka, dated A. D. 619-20, which come from the Ganjām District. In all these inscriptions which range in dates from A. D. 588 to 631, we find the same developed forms of the test letters that we notice in the inscriptions

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 266 ff.

² *J. R. A. S.*, for 1905, pp. 617 ff. As I have shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.), the inscription did not probably belong to Bhāndak, but came originally from some place in Chhattīsgarh.

After this note was sent to the press, my friend Mr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal who has recently returned from England supplied me an extract from a manuscript (Marāṭhī, D 46) deposited in the India Office Library, London. This MS. contains an account of the inscriptions in Chhattīsgarh by Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar who was in the service of Mr. Richard Jenkins, the British Resident at Nagpur from 1807 to 1826. In this account Aurangabadkar states that the stone slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva was affixed to a large temple at Āraṅg. He gives a transcript and a short description of the contents of this record which leave no doubt about its identity. This has unexpectedly corroborated my conjecture about the provenance of this inscription which was long in doubt.

³ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.

⁵ The letters in this chart have been traced as accurately as possible from the published facsimile plates of the records.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 158.

of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta. These forms may have become current about A. D. 550.¹ This will show that the dates which I had assigned to Tivaradēva and Mahā-Śivagupta are not altogether wide of the mark.

How then are we to reconcile the evidence of the Āraṅg plates? As shown by Mr. Ghosh, these plates present earlier forms of the test letters, but they are dated A. D. 601. I think there is a mistake in the reading of the date which is given in lines 12-13 of the inscription. R. B. Hiralal read the date as *Guptānām saṁvatsara-śatē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8* and translated it as 'in the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (in the month of) Bhādra, on the day 10 8(?)'. It is plain that the writer intended to give the year of the date both in words and in figures, but omitted inadvertently some expression like *dvy-aśīty-uttarē* after *saṁvatsara-śatē*². Is there a similar mistake in the expression *saṁvatsara-śatē* also, the intended expression being *saṁvatsara-śata-dvayē*³? I do not think so, because firstly, the characters of the inscription are, as shown above, much earlier than A. D. 601-2 to which the record will have to be assigned if the intended reading is *saṁvatsara-śata-dvayē dvy-aśīty-uttarē*; secondly, the symbols which follow give the date 182, not 282. As in other records of the period, the date is expressed here by numerical symbols. The first symbol stands for 100, since the horizontal bar which is added on the right of its vertical to change it into one for 200 is wanting here. The date of the Āraṅg plates is thus G. E. 182 (not 282) which corresponds to A. D. 501-2. This fits in admirably with the evidence of its early characters.

None of the inscriptions of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of Sōmavarmāśi-kings is dated in any era. The dates of these kings can therefore be fixed only approximately. In my article on the Thākuriyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, I tentatively assigned Tivaradēva to the period 530 to 550 A. D. on the supposition that he was a contemporary of the Vishnukunḍin Mādhavarman I who is known to have married a Vākāṭaka princess. The contemporaneity of Tivaradēva and Mādhavarman I was suggested by the expression *Trivara-nagara* which occurs in two inscriptions⁴ of the latter. Mr. Ghosh takes *Trivara-nagara* to mean the city of Tripurī, but this interpretation is doubtful because the name of the city current in the sixth century A. D. was Tripurī⁵, not Trivara. Even if Trivara is regarded as a partially Prakritized form of Tripurī, it is not clear why such a corrupt form should occur not once but twice in records which are throughout written in good Sanskrit. The other arguments of Mr. Ghosh are more or less conjectural.

¹ Dr. Hoernle has shown that subsequent to A. D. 540 the cursive bipartite form of *y* is found in undisputed possession of the field (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 35), but the Harāhā stone inscription dated A. D. 554, in which the old tripartite form of *y* is used together with the later bipartite form of the letter, indicates that the older form persisted a little longer.

² Compare the wording of the dates of Nos. 1267, 1270, 1275, 1280, 1284, 1290, etc., in Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

³ Compare the wording *nav-ōttarē-bda-śata-dvayē* of the date of No. 1298 of Bhandarkar's *List*. I do not think that the expression *saṁvatsara-śatē* in the date of the Āraṅg plates is nominative dual (meaning two hundred years); for the locative (and not the nominative) is generally used in such cases. See the wording of the dates cited in note 2 above.

⁴ See the Īpūr plates, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff. and the Pulombūru plates, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ The *Tripurīvishaya* is mentioned in the Bētul plates of Saṅkshobha, dated G. E. 199 (A. D. 518-19), above, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

ह	रु	रु	रु	रु	आराङ्ग PLATES OF BHĪMASĒNA II, A.D. 501.
श	ल	ल	ल	ल	BHĀNDAK(?) INSCRIPTION OF NANNARĀJĀDHIRĀJA
स'	म	म	म	म	BODH GAYĀ INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀNĀMAN A.D. 588.
y	व	व	व	व	PLATES OF THE TIME OF ŚAŚĀŅKA RĀJA A.D. 619.
gh	ध	ध	ध	ध	MADHUBAN PLATE OF HARSHA A.D. 631.

५	४	३	२	१	<p>ĀRAṅG PLATES OF BHĪMASĒNA II, A. D. 501.</p>
५	४	३	२	१	<p>BHĀNDAK(?) INSCRIPTION OF NANNARĀJĀDHIRĀJA</p>
५	४	३	२	१	<p>BODH GAYĀ INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀNĀMAN A. D. 588.</p>
५	४	३	२	१	<p>PLATES OF THE TIME OF ŚAŚĀṅKA RĀJA A. D. 619.</p>
५	४	३	२	१	<p>MADHUBAN PLATE OF HARSHA A. D. 631.</p>

It is not of course altogether unlikely that Tivaradēva flourished a few years later than the period I have tentatively assigned to him. The inscriptions of Bhīmasēna II, the kings of Śarabhapura and the Sōmavamśi kings come from the same part of Chhattisgarh¹. These kings seem to have flourished in the order stated above. As we have already seen, Bhīmasēna II was ruling in A. D. 501-2. He seems to have been overthrown soon afterwards by a king of Śarabhapura, probably Mahā-Jayarāja, who coming from the East² seems to have established himself in Chhattisgarh. The plates of his cousins Mahā-Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja also have been found in Chhattisgarh. We may assign about thirty years³ to the reigns of these three princes. Mahā-Pravararāja, the last king of this line, seems to have been overthrown by Indrabala, the son of Udayana, who may have invaded the country during the campaign of the Maukhari king Śśānavarman against an Āndhra king. No inscriptions of Indrabala have been discovered in Chhattisgarh, but those of his sons Nannarāja and Śśānadēva have been found there. We may assign about thirty years to the reigns of these princes. The stone inscription of Nannarāja thus may have been incised about A. D. 550. This would account for the developed forms of the test letters in that record.

Tivaradēva the son of Nannarāja or Nannadēva may thus have come to the throne about A. D. 560. He was probably a contemporary of the Vishnukunḍin king Mādhavarman I whose Pulombūru plates⁴ suggesting his victory over Tivaradēva, I have tentatively assigned to A. D. 565. Tivaradēva becomes also a contemporary of Sūryavarman, the Maukhari prince mentioned in the Harāhā stone inscription⁵ dated A. D. 554. This Sūryavarman is probably identical with the homonymous king of 'the Varman family great on account of its supremacy over Magadha', whose daughter Vāsātā was married to Tivaradēva's nephew Harshagupta.

¹ The inscription of Bhīmasēna was found at Āraṅg, those of the kings of Śarabhapura at Āraṅg, Khariar, Sirpur, Raipur, Śāraṅgarh and Thākurdīyā and of the Sōmavamśi kings at Kharod, Rājim, Balodā, Sirpur and Āraṅg. It is not of course absolutely certain that the copper-plate inscription of Bhīmasēna II found at Āraṅg properly belongs to Chhattisgarh, as the identification of the place-names mentioned in it is not beyond doubt. But in the following discussion I have taken for granted that Bhīmasēna II was ruling in Chhattisgarh. Śūra, the first king mentioned in the Āraṅg plates of Bhīmasēna II, is perhaps identical with Sūryaghōṣa mentioned in the stone inscription of Nannarāja, who originally built the temple of Sugata (Buddha) which was later on repaired during the reign of Nannarāja. In Sanskrit *Śūra* and *Sūrya* are synonyms.

² The capital of these princes until the time of Mahā-Pravararāja was Śarabhapura, which may be identical with Śarabgarh in the Gāṅgpur feudatory state in Orissa.

³ This period might appear unusually short for three reigns, but we have to remember that the total of the known reign-periods of these three kings is not more than 18, viz., 5 years of Jayarāja (Āraṅg plates), 10 years of Sudēvarāja (Raipur plates) and 3 years of Pravararāja (Thākurdīyā plates).

⁴ Some scholars take this Mādhavarman to be the third prince of that name, notwithstanding the fact that like Mādhavarman I of the Chikkullā plates (above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.) he is credited with the performance of 11 *Āśvamēdhas* and 1,000 sacrifices. Those scholars take Mādhavarman who is similarly described in the Rāmātiratham plates to be Mādhavarman II. As Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao has observed, "other princes of the dynasty, who had not the fortune of being called Mādhavarman, are not credited with having performed any sacrifices. It cannot be explained why the family tradition made the celebration of horse-sacrifice, etc. the monopoly of Mādhavarman". *Journal of the Department of Letters, Cal. Univ.*, Vol. XI, p. 48. It seems therefore better to identify these three princes.

⁵ The characters of this inscription are not earlier than those of the Āraṅg plates as Mr. Ghosh thinks. It presents the bipartite *y* in several places, see e.g., *yōshītō*, l. 1; *yauvana*, l. 8; *yō*, l. 9; *nādikay*=*airā*, l. 14, etc.; the right hand vertical of *ś* in some cases rises a little above its top, see *varan-āśram*, l. 6; *mēgh-āśanki*, l. 6, etc.; *bh* and *s* have a wedge on the left though it is not yet hollow. The inscription thus clearly appears to be later than the Āraṅg plates.

The contemporaneity of Tivaradēva and Sūryavarman makes this matrimonial alliance of the two royal families quite likely. The capital of the Maukharis was not, of course, situated in Magadha, but the country was probably included in the Maukhari Empire during the reign of Išānavarman, the father of Sūryavarman, as he is said to have carried his arms as far as Gauda. Until another king of the name Sūryavarman becomes known, it seems better to accept this identification.

The Sōmavamśī kings thus flourished in Chhattisgarh in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D.

No. 29.—TWO RECORDS OF PARANTAKA I FROM TAKKOLAM.

By the late Mr. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

Takkōlam is a village in the Arkonam taluk of the North Arcot District. It has an old temple of the Chōla type, which contains epigraphs dating from the time of the early king Āditya I, one of which has already been published¹. The god of this temple was in ancient times called Tiruvūral-Mahādēva, because of the existence of a natural spring in the temple precincts and this name has been Sanskritised into the present appellation of Janānāthēśvara.

The two short inscriptions² published below as **A** and **B** are engraved on a narrow belt on the base of the central shrine of this temple. The **characters** in which they are engraved are attributable to the **10th century A. D.** and the **language** of the record is fairly correct Tamil. A few omissions of letters are noticeable here and there, due perhaps to the carelessness of the engraver. In point of **orthography**, there is nothing very particular to notice, except that the letter *ṛā* is written both in the ordinary manner and with the secondary length added as a separate symbol. Sanskrit letters are used for some words such as *Parāntakadēva*, *Dhanmāsana*, etc., in record A, while they are in Tamil characters in the other epigraph. The verbal suffix *ānōm* is spelt as a separate word in some instances, and also in combination with the preceding verb in other cases. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine on the southern side hides from view some portions in both the records but as their wording is nearly identical, the missing words can be surmised and the full texts of the records restored fairly completely.

The records are dated in the **31st year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman**, i.e., Parāntaka I, and they register two gifts of 30 *kaḷaiṇṇu* each made by the **daughter of Śōlaperumāṇḍigal** (i.e., the Chōla king) Parāntaka (A. D. 907-953) who is also further described as the *Mahādēviyār* (queen) of **Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar**. Her personal name is mentioned in the record B as **Vīramādēviyār**. These gifts are stated to have been left separately in the charge of the *ūr* (assembly) of the two villages Chammaḷalai in Dāmar-kōṭṭam and Urāḍagam in Maṇayil-kōṭṭam, for the supply of oil for burning a perpetual lamp each in the temple of Tiruvūral-Mahādēva at Takkōlam. The records are important in that they mention a **Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar** as the son-in-law of Parāntaka I; and though the dynasty to which he belonged is not specified, it is possible to identify him with the **Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV** for whom records are found from about A. D. 918 to at least A. D. 933-34.

The name Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar is composed of two parts—'Gōvinda' the personal name and 'Vallavaraiyar' the dynastic title. From Rāshtrakūṭa copper-plate grants it is learnt that

¹ *Anc.*, Vol. XIX, p. 81. The historical and other facts connected with this village have been mentioned at some length in that article.

² Nos. 245 and 246 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

Dantidurga, an early king of this dynasty, who defeated the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman of Bādāmi, was the first to assume the title of *Prithivīvallabha*¹. This title curtailed into 'Vallabha' (and 'Ballaha') became a particular *biruda* of the subsequent kings of this family², and was used either by itself or in conjunction with the respective proper names of the kings, such as Nirupama-Vallabha³, Indra-Vallabha³, Kṛishṇa-Vallabha⁴, etc. The kings bearing the personal name of Gōvinda were also similarly referred to as Gōvinda-Vallabha⁵ or Gojjiga-Vallabha⁶, by the addition of the title 'Vallabha' to their name of Gōvinda or Gojjiga. A bilingual record from Tiruvorriyūr⁷ in the Chingleput District dated in the 18th year of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kaṇṇaradēva 'who took Kachchi and Tañjai' (i.e.), Kṛishṇa III, registers a gift made by a merchant of Mānyakhēṭa, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, who is described as '*vaiśyō Vallabha-bhūmipāla-mahitō yō Mānyakhēṭ-(d)bhavaḥ*'. The Tamil counterpart of the same epigraph refers to this merchant as a '*Vallavaraiyar kaṭakattu vjāpāri*'. Another inscription⁸ from the same temple refers to Kṛishṇa III as 'Vallavaraiyar Kaṇṇaradēva', and registers a gift made by his mother Pūlaichehi-Rāpiyār. From these instances, it is evident that the Rāshtrakūṭa kings used the title of 'Vallabha' and its Tamil equivalent of 'Vallavaraiyar' to indicate their dynasty, in the same way as Pāṇḍiyāṇār signified a Pāṇḍya king and 'Sēramāṇār' a Chēra ruler. Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar of the records under consideration can therefore be identified as a member of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. Though the titles Vallavaraiyar and Pallavaraiyar may have been sometimes used by petty nondescript chieftains in later times, the fact that this Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar had married the daughter of the powerful Chōla king Parāntaka marks him out as a great personage presumably of royal status.

Who could have been this royal personage by name Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar, who belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty and who flourished in this period? From the records copied hitherto in the Madras Presidency⁹ as well as in the Bombay-Karnāṭak¹⁰, it is learnt that there was such a king answering to the name of Gōvinda-Vallabha or Gōyinda-Vallabha, who flourished in the first half of the 10th century A.D. His earliest record¹¹ is dated in Śāka 840 corresponding to December A.D. 918, and his last record¹² so far known bears the date Śāka 855 corresponding to A.D. 933-4. He was thus a contemporary of Parāntaka, and there is nothing inherently improbable in his having married a daughter of that Chōla king. In fact it can be inferred from some Chōla records that Chōla-Rāshtrakūṭa alliances dated from the time of Kṛishṇa II himself, as will be shown in the sequel.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, pp. 11 ff. and *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

² [It is more probable that the *biruda* of 'Vallabha' which had been borne by the Chālukya kings was adopted by the Rāshtrakūṭas as their political successors.—N. L. R.]

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 59 (No. 73 of 1904) wherein the king is called Indra-Vallabha, while in No. 57 the form Indra-Ballaha occurs. Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha occurs in B. K. No. 47 of 1933-34.

⁴ Kṛishṇa II was called Kṛishṇa-Vallabha (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 190 and f. n. 1). Kṛishṇa III was called Akālavarsha and was referred to as Vallabha also (*ante*, Vol. IV, p. 278). In No. 562 of 1915 the king is referred to as Raṭṭa-Ballaha only.

⁵ No. 297 of 1918 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 61). He was also called simply as Vallabha-Narēndra (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27).

⁶ The form Gojjiga-Vallabha occurs in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249, Gojjiga being a local dialectical form of Gōvinda.

⁷ No. 177 of 1912.

⁸ No. 179 of 1912. The actual expression is 'Vallavaraiyar Kaṇṇaradēvar tāyār Pūlaichehi-Rāpiyār'.

⁹ No. 297 of 1918 of Gōvinda-Vallabha is dated in Śāka 853 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 61).

¹⁰ Sāngli plates of Gōvinda IV are dated in Ś. 855 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249).

¹¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 223, also B. K. No. 63 of 1933-34.

¹² No. 540 of 1915 is dated in Śāka 854 and the Sāngli plates in Ś. 855. Also *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII. Honnāji, Nos. 21-23.

From the facts known about the reign of Gōvinda, the trend of events between the years A. D. 930 and A. D. 940 may be surmised to have been the following : Gōvinda IV was an unpopular king and his ministers and feudatories were conspiring to depose him. In about A. D. 934, Gōvinda IV went to the help of the Eastern Chālukya king Yuddhamalla, when the latter was hard-pressed by Bhīma II, but in the fight that ensued the Rāshtrakūṭa army suffered a crushing defeat. At the same time in the beginning of A. D. 935, the political upheaval at the Rāshtrakūṭa capital came to a head, resulting in the accession of Amōghavarsha III, and Gōvinda IV unable to face the strong party of his enemies at home, fled to the court of his father-in-law Parāntaka I. Gōvinda's records in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory stop with A. D. 933-4 and from about A.D. 935-6, his successor Amōghavarsha III was in occupation of the Rāshtrakūṭa throne, helped by his able and ambitious son Kṛishṇa III. It is possible that as a fugitive Gōvinda IV kept on for some time in the Chōla territory, where he was probably staying at the time of the Takkōlam records in A. D. 937. From the statement in the Sūḍi plates¹ of the Gaṅga chief Būtuga II that on the death of Baddega (Amōghavarsha) he had helped Kṛishṇa III to secure the Rāshtrakūṭa throne from the possession of a certain Lallēya (?), it may be surmised that there was some disturbance soon after Amōghavarsha's death in the beginning of the year A. D. 940. Who this Lallēya was is not clear. It is possible that about this time Gōvinda IV with the help of Parāntaka I had made a feeble attempt to regain his throne and that, being unsuccessful, he had also lost his life in this venture. If this is conceded, Kṛishṇa III's invasion of Chōla territory which must have occurred some time after his accession and before A. D. 944, as testified to by the Siddhalingamaḍam record of his 5th year², attains an additional significance, for it must have been as much a war of aggression, as it was one of revenge against the Chōla king Parāntaka for the help he had rendered to his rival Gōvinda IV. Though some of the foregoing statements may not be capable of individual proof at present, there is nothing implausible in the sequence of the events, as surmised here, the correctness of which will have to be confirmed by future discoveries.

As regards the subject-matter of the records, it is stated that the two gifts of 30 *kaḷaṇḍju* each were left in the custody of the *Ūr*-assembly of the two villages **Chammaḷalai** and **Urāḍa gam**³. These villages must have been situated near enough to Takkōlam itself, to be able to measure the stipulated quantity of oil daily to the temple of Tiruvūral-Mahādēva for the maintenance of the perpetual lamps. Failure to supply the oil was liable to a fine of 8½ *kāṇam* for every day of default, which had to be paid to the *Dhanmāsanaṁ*, i.e., the court of justice, which functioned in every village in ancient times and looked after the judicial life of the village community. Such conditions and penalties are of the usual type found in Chōla records of this period.

Note on Chōla-Rāshtrakūṭa relationship.

It has been stated above that the Chōla-Rāshtrakūṭa matrimonial alliances had probably commenced even from the time of Kṛishṇa II himself. In this connection, a Tamil record⁴ from Tirumalavūḍi in the Trichinopoly District is of considerable interest.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 179-80, ll. 51 to 54. These plates, owing to certain irregularities in the date-portion, were considered spurious, but are now accepted as fairly reliable, in so far as the matter contained in them is concerned.

² No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909. The Sūḍi plates of A. D. 938-9 mention the conquests of Kṛishṇa III; but the date-portion of that record is, as mentioned above, suspect.

³ A village *Urōḍagam* *alias* Pallavamalla-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kaḷattūr-nādu is mentioned in No. 253 of 1913.

⁴ No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

It is dated in the 27th year of the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman and registers a gift of 10 *kuḷaṇṇu* of gold and a lamp-stand by a lady named *Iḷaṅḡō-Pichchi*, who is described as the daughter (*maḡalār*) of Vallavaraiyar, and who was probably the senior queen (*muṇṇam puḡunda mūttaḍēviyār*) of Śōla-perumāṇaḍiḡal (i.e., the Chōla king).¹ The high regnal year 27, as well as the absence of the historical introduction 'Tirumagaḷ-pōla' of Rājārāja I in it, favour its attribution to the early king Āditya I (A. D. 870-907).² As the Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōla³ state that Āditya I had built on both the banks of the Kāvēri tall stone temples in honour of Śiva, the Tirumalaḡavāḍi temple along with some others in its vicinity, may correctly be presumed to have come into existence in the reign of this Chōla king. The astronomical details contained in the present record—namely, 27th year, Tulā, Saturday and Bharanī which give the equivalent A. D. 897, October 15, Saturday, which is correct for Āditya I, whose initial date has been determined to have been A. D. 870 or 871⁴, support this surmise.

Sufficient reasons have been adduced in a previous paragraph to show that 'Vallavaraiyar' was a dynastic title used by the Rāshtrakūṭa kings of this period. The personal name of Vallavaraiyar, the father of the donatrix in the present record, has unfortunately not been specified. As it was not uncommon for the kings of this dynasty to be referred to by their simple dynastic title, the Vallavaraiyar of the Tirumalaḡavāḍi record may be identified with Kṛishṇa II, who reigned from A. D. 878 to 913 and was consequently a contemporary of Āditya I (A. D. 870—907). From these facts, it may be presumed that Āditya I had married a daughter of Kṛishṇa II.

The possibility of such a matrimonial alliance having taken place gets confirmation, though in an indirect manner, from another circumstance. The ordinary Prakṛit form of Kṛishṇa is Kaṇṇha, but we find that the Rāshtrakūṭa kings of the name of Kṛishṇa are referred to in their records by the name of 'Kannara'. This latter form is peculiar to the Kannaḍa language of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty.⁵ Now a record⁶ dated in the 8th year of a Rājakēsarivarman, palæographically assignable to the reign of Āditya I, makes mention of a prince called Ādityaṇ-Kaṇṇaradēva, who from the way in which his name has been expressed can be recognised as a son of Āditya and who is also specifically described as the son (*pillaiyār*) of Śōlaperumāṇaḍiḡal. As this name 'Kaṇṇaradēva' is foreign to the Chōla dynasty and has not been met with as a name of any of their kings, it may be inferred that this particular cognomen for the Chōla prince was due to some Rāshtrakūṭa associations and influence. If, as stated above, Āditya had married the daughter of Vallavaraiyar, i.e., Kṛishṇa II *alias* Kaṇṇaradēva, it may be

¹ A portion of the record is damaged. The relevant portion reads :—'Śōlaperumā.....rkku muṇṇam puḡunda mūttaḍēviyār Iḷaṅḡō-pichchi Tirumalaḡavāḍi-pPerumāṇaḍiḡalukku nondā.....' and further on "Ivvaippil Vallavaraiyar maḡalār Iḷaṅḡō-pichchi vaiytta viḷakku." It may be noticed that the lady is called only 'mūttaḍēviyār'. The name Pichchi may be derived from the Sanskrit word *Bhikeha* or it may be equivalent to the Kannaḍa *Bijjā*; but it is not clear why the honorific suffix *ḍi ār* is not mentioned with her name.

² The characters in which this record is engraved are attributable to the 11th century A. D., but when it is remembered that the *Śrīvimāna* of the temple was renovated under the orders of Rājārāja I (28th year) and that the old inscriptions were re-engraved in the 14th year of Rājendra-Chōla I. (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 651 and 652) the later age of the writing is easily accounted for.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 50.

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 85.

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 336.

⁶ No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 595).

expected that his son by this alliance may have been given the name of his maternal grandfather **Kaṇṇara**.¹ This appears to have actually been the case.

As it was **Parāntaka I** who had succeeded **Āditya I**, it may have to be presumed that either the **Chōla** prince **Kaṇṇaradēva** had predeceased his father, or that his claims for succession were superseded by the more powerful **Parāntaka**, the son of **Āditya**, probably by another queen. This may perhaps explain the attitude of **Kṛishṇa II** towards **Parāntaka I**, with whom he appears to have come into conflict as early as A. D. 912, with unfavourable results to himself.²

TEXT OF A.³

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] **Madirai**-[ko]ṇḍa kō-p**Parakēśaripānma**[r*]kku yāṇḍu mup-
pattō[ṇ*]rāvadū **Dāmar**-kkōṭṭattu-ttan kūṟṟa=[ch*]**Chammaḷalai** ūrōṇ-kaiyy-eḷuttu
[||*] **Śōḷaperumāṇaḍigal** **Parāntakadēvar** **tirumagaḷār** **Gōvinda-Valla-**
varaiyar **mādēviyār**⁴ **Takkōlattu** **Tiruvūḷal-Mādēvarkku** **nandāvilakk-o**⁵.....
ppōṇ koṇḍu chandir-ādittā-varai nīśadam uḷakk-eṇṇai aṭṭuvōm=āṇōm[||*] I[v*]v-
eṇṇai muṭṭil dhanmāsaṇattu nīśadi eṭṭarai-kāṇan daṇḍappaṭṭum nīśadi u⁶.....
m=āṇō[m*] [||*] Ivv-eṇṇai taṇḍa vandārkku nīśadam i[r*]aṇḍu śōru kuḍuppōm=
āṇō[m*] [||] **Tiru**⁷.....śadam uḷakk-āmbaḍi **tiruvuṇṇāḷigaikkōy** koṇḍu vandu
aṭṭuvōm=āṇōm[||*].

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the **thirty-first** year of king **Parakēśarivarman**, who took **Madura**, this is the writing (written agreement) of the **Ūr** of **Chammaḷalai**, (a village) in the sub-division of the same name in **Dāmar-kōṭṭam**.

The amount which the daughter of the **Chōla** king **Parāntakadēva**, (and) the queen of **Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar**, endowed for a perpetual lamp to (the god) **Tiruvūḷal-Mahādēva** of **Takkōlam** is [thirty *kaḷaṇḍu*]. Receiving this gold, we shall supply daily (one) *uḷakku* of oil, as long as the moon and the sun (endure).

If there is default in (the supply of) this oil, we shall supply daily the *uḷakku* of oil, after paying to the *Dhanmāsanam* a fine of eight and a half *kāṇam* (for) every day (of default). We shall give two meals a day to those who come to collect this oil.....We shall bring and supply this oil at the central shrine (itself) at one *uḷakku* per day.

TEXT OF B.³

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] **Madirai**-koṇḍa kō-p**Parakēśaripānma**[r*]kku yāṇḍu muppatt-
oṇṇāvadū **Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭattu** **Puriśai-nāṭṭu** [Ūrā]ḍagatt=ūrōm kaiyy-eḷu(eḷu)ttu

¹ This practice of naming a grandson after the paternal, preferentially, or the maternal grandfather was common. Such instances from other royal families can be cited.

² *Ante*, p. 114.

³ No. 245 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

⁴ The letter *vi* is engraved below the line.

⁵ The stone is damaged here. The missing syllables ' *ṇṟukku vaiṭṭa poṇ muppadiṇ kaḷaṇḍu* [||*] ' may be supplied from B.

⁶ The missing syllables are ' *ḷakku eṇṇai aṭṭuvō* '.

⁷ The syllables which are missing here cannot easily be guessed.

⁸ No. 246 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

[*] Śōlaperumāṇaḍigaḷ Pirāntakadēvar tirumagaḷār Gōviynda-Val-lavaraiyar māha(mahā)dēviyār Viramādēviyār Takkōlattu Tiruvūḷal-Māha(Mahā)dēvarkku nundā-vi[la]kku [oṇṇukku*] vaiyitta poṇ muppadiṇ kaḷaṇju [*].....¹ ̣ai aṭṭuvōm-āṇōm [*] I[v*]v-ēṇai muṭṭil tanmmā(nmā)daṇattil niśadi eṭṭarai-kāṇam daṇḍapaṭṭu[m*] niśadam uḷakku ēṇai aṭṭu[vō].....² ̣aiykkū³ taṇḍa-vandā[r*]kku ni[śa*]dam iraṇḍu śōṇu kuḍuppōm āṇōm ū[rō*]m [*] ūr kūḍi.....⁴ ̣ kūḍattāṇ Ambakuṭṭi magan̄ Tambattāṇṇēṇ [*]ivai eṇ[̣e*]uttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the **thirty-first year of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madura**, this is the writing (written agreement) of the *Ūr* of Urāḍagam, (a village) in Purisai-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭam.

The gold which **Viramādēviyār, the daughter of the Chōla king Pirāntakadēva, (and) the queen of Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar**, endowed for a perpetual lamp to (the god) Tiruvūḷal-Mahādēva of Takkōlam is thirty *kaḷaṇju*. Receiving this gold, (we) the *Ūr* shall supply (one) *uḷakku* of oil daily.

If the supply of oil fails, we shall supply the *uḷakku* of oil daily, after paying the *Dhanmā-saṇam* a fine of eight and a half *kāṇam* (for) every day (of default). We shall give two meals a day to those who come to collect this oil.

I, Tambattāṇ, son of Ambakuṭṭi,....., this is my writing (signature).

No. 30.—NALANDA SEAL OF VISHNUGUPTA.

By KRISHNA DEVA, M.A., DELHI.

This terracotta seal of Vishnugupta was excavated from Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā in 1927-28 together with the seals of Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta and Vainyagupta⁵. It is fragmentary and only a quarter of the original seal consisting of the lower portion of the right half remains, the rest being broken and irretrievably lost. The extant fragment is of the shape of a triangle with the sides measuring $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{8}''$ and contains portions of the last four lines of writing. There is no doubt that like the other Gupta seals from Nālandā, this seal was also oval in shape, as is indicated by the curvature of its edge, and contained representation of Garuḍa, flanked by the sun and the crescent, in the missing upper portion. On the analogy of the above mentioned seals, it may also be presumed that the full legend on this ran into eight lines, the upper four of which, though lost, may be restored from the other known seals with reasonable certainty.

The seal being the direct impression from a negative matrix, the legend stands out in relief. The execution of the writing is fairly neat and elegant. The characters of the inscription

¹ The missing syllables were probably 'i-ppōṇ kōṇḍu chandr-āditya-varai niśadam uḷakku eṇ'.

² The missing syllables were probably 'm-āṇōm [*] Ivv-ēṇ'.

³ The syllables *kku* appear to be superfluous.

⁴ The missing syllables in this portion cannot be correctly restored.

⁵ These seals are edited in Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and its Epigraphical Material* (A. S. I., Memoir No. 66), pp. 64 ff., pl. VIII.

belong to the so-called Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet and closely resemble those of the Bhitari¹ and Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta II. *M* and *h* are of the developed Eastern type. *S* has both the looped and unlooped varieties, the former as in *tasya* (l. 3) and the latter as in *Narasimha*^o (l. 2). The height of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{10}$ " to $\frac{3}{12}$ ". The language is Sanskrit and the legend is in prose.

In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted : (1) *Dh* has been invariably doubled in conjunction with a following *y* as in *pādānuddhyātō* (ll. 2 and 3). (2) *T* is everywhere doubled in conjunction with a following *r* as in *putras* (ll. 2 and 3). (3) The *Upadhmānīya* sign has been used in *°nmaḥ-Parama*^o (l. 4).

The seal belongs to the *Paramabhūgava'a-Mahārājākhirāja Vishnugupta* of the Imperial Gupta family. Like the other Gupta seals, it records the genealogy of a succession of Gupta kings ending with Vishnugupta. Up to the name of *Kumāragupta* occurring in line 3, its legend, though only partially preserved, is identical with that on the Bhitari and Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta II, who was so far the last known sovereign in the connected genealogical succession of the Imperial Guptas. The present seal tells us that the issuer of this, viz. **Vishnugupta**, was the son and successor of Kumāragupta II, who in his turn was the son and successor of Narasimhagupta. The seal, therefore, is of great importance inasmuch as it carries the genealogy of the Gupta sovereigns a generation further than was hitherto known. It is unfortunate that the name of the mother of Vishnugupta and the wife of Kumāragupta II, which would, if known, have constituted a valuable addition to our knowledge, has been lost in the broken portion of the last line.

The seal also shows that the name of the father and predecessor of Narasimhagupta should be spelt as [P]ū[rugupta*] (l. 1) and not Puragupta as was hitherto done. The reading **Pūrugupta** is unmistakable on the fragmentary Nālandā seal of Narasimhagupta² and is also fairly clear on the originals of those of Kumāragupta II. The medial *ū* sign in the first letter of the name *Pūrugupta* is indicated by an additional stroke attached to the base of the letter, besides the downward elongation of its right limb, the latter sign by itself denoting the short medial as in *putras* (ll. 2 and 3). In the second letter of the name, viz. *ru*, the medial *u* is shown by a small hook turned to left and joined to the foot of *r*. Palaeographical considerations apart, the name *Pūrugupta* yields more plausible sense than *Puragupta* and fits better in the series of the grand and dignified names of the Gupta kings. As has been pointed out by Mr. Jagannath³, the first part of the Gupta nomenclature constituted the real or substantive name and yielded satisfactory meaning independently of the latter half, viz. *gupta*, which being family surname was a mere adjunct. *Pura*, by itself, is neither a complete nor a dignified name while *Pūru* is both. *Pūru* with the more common variant *Puru* may, like *Vaiṇya* in Vainyagupta's name, either signify the homonymous epic hero of the lunar race who was the ancestor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, or may alternately mean *abundant* or *great*.

The Gupta chronology as known from the joint testimony of the seals of Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishnugupta is drawn below in a table form. The other Gupta records do not take us very far in this respect, as they end the genealogical list with Skandagupta who is called therein as the son and successor of Kumāragupta I. Fortunately for us, the *Mañjuśrīmū-*

¹ J. A. S. B. Vol. LVIII, pt. I, p. 89; *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.

² Hirananda Sastri, *loc. cit.* pl. VIII, b, l. 6.

³ *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Dec. 1940, p. 101. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also independently arrived at the reading *Purugupta*.

*lakalpa*¹ (henceforth called MMK.), which is a literary work of the 8th-9th centuries A. D., has preserved a skeleton of the Gupta history and chronology which may prove very valuable for a study of the subject. The succession according to this work is also shown below in juxtaposition to the list of the seals. In each case the rulers previous to Kumāragupta I have been omitted, since there is practically complete unanimity on the earlier Gupta chronology.

Succession according to Seals.

Kumāragupta (I)
|
Pūrugupta
|
Narasimhagupta
|
Kumāragupta (II)
|
Vishnugupta

Succession according to MMK.

Mahendra
|
S-initialled
|
Bāla
|
Kumāra (II)
|
U

That Mahendra is same as Kumāragupta I will be admitted on all hands. The identity of Bāla (Bālāditya) and Narasimhagupta also is beyond doubt. Kumāra(gupta II) is common to both the seals and the MMK. The name U (*Ukārākhya*) of the MMK., however, appears to be puzzling. But an examination of Vishnugupta's coins shows on the obverse between the king's feet the letter *U*², which no doubt is identical with U of the MMK. and represented probably the abbreviation of some *viruda* or nickname of Vishnugupta who is known from coins to have had another *viruda*, viz. Chandraditya. As regards the S-initialled (*Sakārādya*) king of the MMK., it will be readily recognised that he is the well-known king Skandagupta, son of Kumāragupta I. Against this name the succession list of the seals shows Pūrugupta. As all other names on one list correspond with those on the other, the presumption is that Skandagupta should be equated with Pūrugupta. It is, however, exactly at this point that the controversy starts. Pūrugupta, misspelt as Puragupta, has been so far supposed to be a brother and collateral of Skandagupta. Some scholars think that there was partition of the Gupta empire either during or after Skandagupta's reign, Skandagupta and his descendants ruling over some provinces and the collateral branch of Pūrugupta over the remaining portion of the kingdom. Others hold that Pūrugupta's branch succeeded Skandagupta or his descendants on the undivided imperial throne. All these theories rest on the supposition that Pūrugupta and Skandagupta were two different entities. This misconception arose from the fact that while the scholars took care to note Skandagupta and Pūrugupta being each called son of Kumāragupta I, they ignored that the Gupta records referred to each as *tatpādānudyāta* in relation to Kumāragupta I. That the phrase *tatpādānudyāta* had the technical sense of *immediate successor* in the imperial Gupta documents is clear from its omission in the case of Chandragupta II, who is invariably called *tatparigrihīta* or *tatpādaparigrihīta*³ in relation to his father, Samudragupta. The substitution of the usual *tatpādānudyāta* by the improvised phrase *tatparigrihīta* or *tatpādaparigrihīta* is significant and was necessitated by the fact that Chandragupta II did not directly succeed his father but was preceded in the Imperial succession by his brother Rāmagupta. Skandagupta and Pūrugupta, therefore, each of whom is called the son and *immediate successor* of Kumāragupta I, must be taken as one and the same

¹ Jayaswal's edition, vv. 645 ff. ; *Imperial History of India*, p. 33.

² See Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pl. XXIII, 9. Jayaswal identified U of the MMK. with Prakāśāditya, whose coins also show the letter U (*Imperial History of India*, p. 39). If this identification be accepted, Prakāśāditya will become another *viruda* of Vishnugupta.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 27 (l. 9), p. 50 (l. 19), p. 53 (l. 4); *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 41 (l. 4); *A. S. I.*, *Memoir* No. 66, p. 64 (l. 5), p. 65 (l. 3), p. 66 (l. 3).

person. That Skandagupta was known by more names than one is attested by the epithet *vividhākhyā*, given him by the MMK.¹, which further informs us that he was also called Dēvarāja, this being the favourite name also of his grandfather, Chandragupta II². It is likely that Skandagupta came to be known as Pūrugupta meaning the Great Gupta in recognition of the unique service that he rendered to his family by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Hūṇas, who had threatened the stability of the Gupta empire. Moreover, the absence of Pūrugupta's coins,³ when the issues of all his royal predecessors and of all his successors including Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishnugupta have been recovered, is not a little puzzling and can only be explained on the hypothesis of Pūrugupta's identity with one of the Gupta kings whose coins are known. Finally, there is no incontrovertible evidence in favour of a division of the empire either during or immediately after Skandagupta's reign to justify the assumption of Skandagupta and Pūrugupta being collaterals. The MMK⁴, on the other hand, explicitly states that the division and disintegration set in after the reign of the king U, i.e. Vishnugupta, who is the third in descent from Skandagupta or Pūrugupta. Thus, the joint testimony of the seals and the MMK., supported by the foregoing considerations, leaves no doubt as to the **identity of Pūrugupta with Skandagupta.**

The accuracy of the succession list of the seals, independently confirmed by the MMK., is further borne out by numismatic evidence. The Kālighāt hoard⁵ contained besides Chandragupta II's coins those of Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishnugupta⁶. This not only lends support to the succession of the last three sovereigns as given in the seals and the MMK., but also attests the statement of the MMK. that the period following Vishnugupta's time was troublous, as is indicated by the hoard⁷ having been buried presumably at the fag end of his reign. Yet another corroborative evidence is provided by the comparative weights⁷ of the coins. It is admitted by numismatists that the Gupta Coins tended to increase in weight with lapse of time and generally the heavier a Gupta Coin, the later is its date. Confining ourselves to the issues of the last three rulers, we find that the average weight of Narasimhagupta's Class I is 146.5 grains and of his Class II 146. Kumāragupta II's Class I weighs 143, while the two varieties of Class II give an average of 149.2 and 147.2. The coins of Vishnugupta average 148.3. It is further significant that the issues of no other Gupta king average anywhere between 146 and 148 grains. This progressive increase in weight standard affords an additional confirmation of the genealogical succession from Narasimhagupta through Kumāragupta II to Vishnugupta, as contained in the seal under discussion.

¹ Jayaswal's edition, v. 647.

² That Skandagupta also shared with Chandragupta II the *biruda* of Vikramāditya, with the variant Kramāditya, is known from coins. It is interesting to note that Skandagupta is referred to as Vikramāditya, king of Ayōdhyā, in Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu*, which also informs us that Bālāditya was Vikramāditya's crown-prince and successor (Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p.1). This confirms the testimony of the MMK. that Skandagupta was succeeded by Bāla.

³ The coins formerly attributed to him really belong to Budhagupta, see *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 691.

⁴ Jayaswal's edition, v. 675.

⁵ Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. cxxvi.

⁶ Dr. Altekar has identified Vishnugupta of the coins with the homonymous ruler of the Later Gupta family of Magadha, who flourished in the eighth century A. D., as is known from his newly discovered inscription dated in the year 117 (Harsha era) = 723 A. D. (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 57 ff.). The learned professor had obviously no knowledge of the seal of an earlier Vishnugupta, which is under discussion. I think, he will now agree that the coins really belong to the Vishnugupta of the present seal.

⁷ Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cxxxiv.

NALANDA SEAL OF VISHNUGUPTA.



(From a photograph).

TEXT.¹

1. . . . hārājādh[i]r[ā]ja-śr[i*]-[P*]ū
2. . . . h[ā*]r[ā*]j[ā*]dhirāja-śrī-Narasimha[guptas]=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddh[yā]t[ō].
3. . . . rājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Ma[hā]-
4. . . . nnaḥ=Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Vishṇug[u][ptaḥ||*].

No. 31.—A NOTE ON THE BALASORE PLATE OF BHANU[DATTA].

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

In a previous issue of this journal,² the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar published four copper-plate inscriptions belonging to three different chiefs who ruled over the region now covered by the Balasore District of Orissa. One of these³ speaks of a 'king' (*Mahārāja*) called Bhānudatta and is dated in the year 5 on the 17th day of Phālguna. One more copper-plate grant, however, belonging apparently to the same personage, had been discovered, some time earlier, but somehow it escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This plate was turned up in course of ploughing a field near the modern town of Balasore⁴ in Orissa. The owner of the holding, the late Mr. Ziauddin, lately Lecturer at the Viśva-Bhāratī of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, made over the plate to Mr. Haridas Mitra who published a paper on the same in 1935⁵.

This is, in common with the Sōrō plates, a single sheet of copper bearing inscription on both sides. It measures 7·2" by 3·7". The record is complete in eighteen lines. A seal, which appears to have been soldered on to the central left margin of the plate, is reported to have been destroyed.

The inscription is one of *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta Bhānu*. It records a gift which was issued from the royal encampment (*vāsaka*) at Sarēphā,⁶ of the village of Nandirāṭa⁷ to four Brāhmaṇas, named Priyamitrasvāmin, Vāṭamitrasvāmin, Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgamitrasvāmin, belonging to the Vatsa *gōtra* and to the Vājasanēya *charaṇa* (of the Yajurvēda). Before its formal sanction, the gift was announced before a number of officials entrusted with administration of the district (*viśaya*) called Sarēphāhāra. The grant was written by the *Sandhivigrahika* Aruṇadatta and 'heated' (*tāpitam*) by the *Peḍāpālaka* Pratishṭhitachandra. The date given (in figures only) is Year 5, the 4th day of Mārgaśīrsha.

There can be no doubt that the present record belongs to *Mahārāja* Bhānudatta already known to us from the Sōrō inscription. The general character of the plates, the

¹ From the original as well as from excellent photographs which I owe to the kindness of the Director General of Archaeology in India.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197 ff. and plates.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁴ The exact findspot has not been mentioned. One may however presume that it cannot have been very far from the place where the Sōrō plates were found.

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 611 ff. and plate.

⁶ Mitra reads *Sagadhā*.

⁷ The name of the village appears to be somewhat damaged. I cannot however see *Bandiraka* as read by Mr. Mitra (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 621).

script, the names of donees and the officers responsible for execution of the documents leave no room for doubt as to the identity of both Bhānu and Bhānudatta as being one and the same person. The present record presumably belongs to an earlier part of Bhānu[datta]'s career : in fact, the dates given suggest a little over three months' priority over the Sōrō record.

The chiefs of the Sōrō plates must have ruled over a severely circumscribed area, and that too at the pleasure of some higher power. Bhānudatta and perhaps Sōmadatta (of the Sōrō plates), between whom some kinship has been claimed,¹ may well have worked as deputies to an overlord whose personality remains obscure : he is apparently vaguely referred to as *śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in the inscriptions.²

The date given is the year 5, the 4th day of Mārgaśīrsha. The year is apparently regnal. Palæographically, our record is to be assigned to the second half of the sixth century A. D.

Of the localities mentioned, Sarōphā has already been identified by Mr. N. G. Majumdar with Sōrō in the Balasore District of Orissa. It was apparently the headquarters of the district (*vi-haya*) called Sarōphāhāra in the present inscription. I am unable to locate the village Nandirāṭa.



¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 200.

² I would suggest that he may have been the *Paramadēvatādhidaivata*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Sambhuyāśas (emended reading) mentioned as the overlord of a chief called *Mahārāja* Sivarāja in the Paṭiākellā (Cuttack District, Orissa) plate (above, Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff. and plate) and also in 'Plate A' of the Sōrō grants (*ibid*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-202 and plate). From the joint evidence of the Paṭiākellā and the Sōrō plates it is reasonable to assume that Sambhuyāśas ruled as an independent ruler over the wide tract of country anciently known as Tōsalī and now roughly covering the districts of Balasore, Puri and Cuttack. *Mahārāja* Sōmadatta and *Mahārāja* Bhānudatta of the Sōrō plates were evidently more or less equal in status to *Mahārāja* Sivarāja of the Paṭiākellā grant. It seems very significant that both Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta hold such feudatory titles as *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahābalādhikṛita*, etc.

Part V.

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EDITED BY

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.),
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

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